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.....Harold F. Kaufman, Otis Dudley Duncan, Neal Gross,
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Research Notes

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RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES: SOME EVIDENCE FROM PUBLIC OPINION POLLS*

by Howard W. Beers†

ABSTRACT

Since 1910, the demographic position of rural life in the United States has changed and agriculture has undergone technical revolution. Many ranges of difference between the rural and urban sectors of American society have been shortened. Data from public opinion polls since 1935 provide a new variety of evidence on the place of rural life. Inspection of pro-percentages (percentages responding with "yes" or approval) in polls on issues concerning economic activities of government, labor matters, international relations, various public issues, and questions of personal belief and satisfaction reveals overlapping curves rather than completely separated groups. On most of the issues, the bulk of the farmers, the general public, and the various subsamples are under overlapping distribution curves.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIOLOGICAL RURALITY

The conventional sociological description of rural-urban differences is frequently said to have lost its empirical reference in American society. Now and then one hears or reads that rural life is chiefly memory and hardly any more a fact. The argument runs that America now is urban; and one implication, which many critics are too polite to make explicit, is that rural sociologists are already vestigial specialists who may now or soon be released to other occupations. In recognition of these points and in keeping with current preoccupations of rural sociologists, this paper reports a preliminary and partial checkup of rurality in the United States.

The problem is to see what positions rural life has come to occupy in American society, and especially whether in certain aspects rural life corresponds any more or less now than formerly with the ideal-type of rural society. An introductory pause over data on population and technology is followed by a cautious exploration of newly available materials from public opinion

polls. Opinions reflect values; so the discussion of the problem moves from demography over into sociology and social psychology.

Since 1910, the whole demographic position of rural life in American society has changed. The reversal of dominance in population numbers appeared first with the census of 1920. By 1950—partly because of new definitions—our population was nearly two-thirds (64 per cent) urban.

In the forty years after 1910—while rural sociology sought maturity as a discipline and as a field of service—agriculture in the United States experienced a technological revolution, and the number of farmers declined by eight million. The number of farms declined by 15 per cent, and the average size of farm increased from 138 to 215 acres.¹ Between 1940 and 1947 alone, there was a net loss to the farm population of three million by outmigration. In 1950, only 16 per cent of the people of the United States were rural farm, and this is the population segment to observe in a test of rural-urban differences, for farmers are the prototype of rural.

*Revision of presidential address, Rural Sociological Society, read at annual meeting in Atlantic City, N. J., Sept. 4, 1952.

†University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.

¹ Arthur F. Raper, *A Graphic Presentation of Rural Trends* (Washington, D. C.: Extension Service and Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA, May 2, 1952).

But farmers recently were informed in a pamphlet from the Department of Agriculture that "the number of people in the U. S. A. is increasing at an average rate of more than 6,000 persons a day. . . . There will be 38 million more people at the table by 1975." To feed this fifth person at every table we must, the pamphlet says, increase our total agricultural production by one-fourth over 1950.²

To meet this responsibility there will be still fewer farmers. They will, of course, have more and better machines, better crop and livestock varieties, more effective procedures for conserving soil, more and better fertilizers and pest controls—a more productive technology. In efficiency, from 1910 to 1950, farm output per man-hour more than doubled. As to machinery, we need only remember that automobiles, trucks, tractors, cornpickers, combines, and milking machines came from virtual nonexistence in 1910 to wide prevalence in 1950, when, for example, there were over 3.5 million tractors!

On the level-of-living side, radio wasn't dreamed of by farmers in 1910; forty years later, 9 out of 10 farm operators had radio sets. Electricity on farms jumped from less than 5 per cent to more than 78 per cent in prevalence. The installation of running water in farm homes has been slower; the number of homes with this convenience went from 10 per cent in 1910 to 40 per cent in 1950. A summary of the farm level-of-living changes is seen in the Hagood index, which moved from 79 in 1940 to 122 in 1950.³

In addition to the reduced farm population and the improved agricultural technology, there have been the various notorious advances in urbanization.

Especially there are the ecological, social, and cultural penetrations of the country by the city at what has been called the "fringe." There has been extensive occupational diversification within the farm population, even within the farm labor force. The 1950 census is yielding many tabulations that confirm these trends, and the practical problem of how to define farm population and rural population is increasingly vexing.

It is clear, then, that farmers have dwindled in number and proportion, but have gained spectacularly in technical knowledge, in tools of production, and in the physical "amenities" of living—and, although evidence will not be introduced here, they have retained considerable political power. They now face a greatly expanded task of production for an enlarged society. The demographic and agricultural statistics point to changes that have narrowed many of the ranges of difference between the rural and urban sectors of American society. Taeuber has made a specific statement on this and related points:

Whether the measures of level of living are taken in terms of housing and household conveniences, or in increased health as measured by infant mortality or expectation of life, there appears to be a lessening of the differences between the most favored and the least favored groups. Differences have been lessened as between farm and nonfarm, between rural and urban, South and North, Negro and white.⁴

Against this background of conspicuous demographic and technological development, what can be seen of corresponding social changes? Attention in this discussion will be focused on one central feature of social change—that which comprises values.

² *The Fifth Plate* (Washington, D. C.: Production & Marketing Administration, USDA, Dec., 1951), p. 191.

³ Arthur F. Raper, op. cit.

⁴ Conrad Taeuber, "Current Population Trends" (paper presented before the National Industrial Conference Board, New York City, Jan. 24, 1952).

POLLS OF OPINION AS EVIDENCE⁵

The Cantril compendium of national polls taken in the United States between the middle 1930's and middle 1940's,⁶ together with quarterly summaries of polls through 1950,⁷ make available a new variety of evidence on the place of rural life in American society.

Norms, values, and attitudes lie behind expressions of opinion on the economic activities of government, labor issues, international relations, various public issues, and questions of personal belief and satisfaction. Selected topics in each of these fields have engaged pollsters in recent years; and a preliminary foray into the multitude of responses, tabulated by categories of residence and occupation, is here summarized. The procedure suggests a simple way of using opinion polls, and yields some data which may help to delimit problems of defining rural and urban society and culture.

Over three hundred polls (on subjects other than national elections) in fifteen years can be identified as having relevant topics and as having been tabulated by some criterion of rurality. For this study, a selection of polls was made on the basis of (a) time: prewar and wartime polls were excluded; only the first five postwar years, 1946-1950, were included; (b) topic: polls asking for prediction of future events and those surveying current customs and practices were excluded; only polls of opinion or attitude were included; (c) use of occupational categories: division by rural-urban residence was excluded;

only those with a category based on "farmer" status or farm residence were included.

The tabular arrangements here presented are simplified from table forms prepared in earlier stages of the analysis. The first tables presented more data, but were too bulky and space-consuming for printing as part of a journal article. The condensed tables use only one statistic. To simplify description at the risk of literary criticism, this statistic is here called the *pro-percentage*. It is the percentage of a sample that responded with "yes," or approval. This is probably adequate for the current illustrative analysis, but it would also be useful to examine intergroup differences by *con-percentages* and by the percentages of "no-opinion" answers—considering, in fact, the "yes-no-other" distribution rather than just one position on the distribution.

Hence, the present analysis is in small scale, and hardly more than suggestive. Further exploitation of the available data is indicated. Some of the possibilities which should be of interest to workers in rural-urban research are the following: analysis of polls related to elections; comparisons (in the few cases possible) of United States polls with those for other countries; comparisons among the three time-periods—prewar, war, and postwar; inter-regional comparisons, where possible; analysis on the basis of rural-urban residence as well as on the occupational breakdowns; inclusion of polls that survey practices and conditions, or deal with predictions.

The pollsters choose their subjects of inquiry on other bases than the research interests of sociologists, and one may well be perplexed in a desire to group the topics by satisfactory classifications. The classifications adopted here were developed by the simple process of clustering the polls into seemingly related groupings, and as-

⁵ Acknowledgment is made to colleagues at the University of Kentucky, especially to C. Arnold Anderson for suggesting the use of poll data and to A. Lee Coleman for his suggestions on tabular organization.

⁶ Hadley Cantril (ed.), *Public Opinion: 1935-1946* (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1951).

⁷ *Public Opinion Quarterly*, X-XIV (1946-1950).

signing a descriptive name to each grouping. The polls mentioned touch on enough aspects of the sociologically orthodox conceptions of rurality, however, to provide support of some and challenge to other elements in the traditional ideas of what is rural.

ECONOMIC ROLE OF GOVERNMENT:

A REVIEW OF POLLS

Those polls which elicited opinions on certain economic actions of government do not cover a random or representative sample of such governmental functions. However, at least seven of the postwar polls, for which the tabulators have separated farmers from other categories, do deal with selected aspects of this field and may profitably be explored for evidence of rural-urban or inter-occupational differences (Table 1).

Only governmental price guarantees for farm crops drew favor from a larger percentage of farmers than of the general public, or of any other subgroup. Here the interest of farmers in the prices of what they sell apparently overcame what appears in most

of the polls as an opposite reaction. On each of the six other poll topics the farmer pro-percentage was less than that for the general public, and on five topics it was less than that for any other subgroup, making farmers the most reluctant of any of the groups to favor the extension of economic action by the government.* True, "government appropriations for slum clearance and housing" was the only one of the seven proposals that as many as half of the general public favored. Approval of each other item was granted by only a minority. The farmer minority on each topic in these postwar polls, however, is considerably lower than the general-public minority.

This array of the subsamples by pro-percentages puts farmers and laborers at opposite ends of the range on five issues, with city dwellers and farmers at opposite ends on a sixth topic. If no farmers and all laborers had approved

* Cf., John L. Haer, "Conservatism and the Rural-Urban Continuum," *Rural Sociology*, XVII, No. 4 (Dec., 1952), pp. 343-347 (published since this paper was prepared).

TABLE 1. COMPARISON OF FARMERS WITH TOTAL SAMPLE AND MOST EXTREME SUBSAMPLES, BY PERCENTAGE APPROVING SPECIFIED ECONOMIC ACTION BY GOVERNMENT (Postwar National Polls, 1946-1950)

Topic	Farmers	Total	Extreme groups	
			Least approval	Most approval
	<i>Pro-percentages</i>		<i>Pro-percentages</i>	
Keeping price guarantees on farm crops.....	62	39	33 (City dwellers)	62 (Farmers)
Government appropriations for slum clearance, housing.....	56	69	56 (Farmers)	79 (Union members)
Government guarantee of standard of living for all.....	36	43	28 (Professionals & businessmen)	57 (Union members)
Retention of price ceilings on meat, etc.....	34	42	34 (Farmers)	47 (Manual workers)
Rationing and price control for some products	31	48	31 (Farmers)	53 (Manual workers)
Government ownership of railroads.	18	26	18 (Farmers)	32 (Union members)
More government regulation of business.....	14	21	14 (Farm owners)	32 (Factory workers)

these governmental excursions into economic activity, the current existence of the orthodox ideal-type rural society would have some confirmation. But on each issue the general public was divided, as was every subsample, including farmers. The question of inter-sample differences such as rural-urban or farmer-labor suggests the usual classroom discussions of overlapping curves.⁹ Most of the farmers and most of the general public or any of the subsamples on any issue are under overlapping distribution curves, where they hold common territory in Cartesian space. With reference to a given origin of coördinates, however, the distribution curves for farmers on most of these economic-role-of-government issues were farther removed along the line of abscissas from the distribution curve for some classification of laborers than from the distribution curve for any other segment of the public. To shorten and oversimplify this observation, we may say that farmer distributions of opinions on the economic role of government were more like the distributions of executives, proprietors, businessmen, and white-collar samples than like the distributions of samples of laborers. The temptation is to oversimplify by one degree more, and say that farmers think like businessmen and not like laborers when it comes to the economic functions of government. This might make interesting conversation, but it is not an accurate statement of the findings.

One begins to suspect here that certain distributions of subsamples within the farmer or rural category, as within urban categories, may be more in contrast to each other than are the overall rural and urban distributions. A suspicion must be confessed at this point, also, that the representation of farmers

in national polls may not be adequate at all strata of rural society. Unfortunately, the tabulations presently available do not permit more than cursory exploration of such hypotheses.

LABOR ISSUES: A REVIEW OF POLLS

A number of polls in recent years have sought the public's pulse on labor issues. Farmer groups have been singled out in ten accessible postwar tabulations on labor topics so-stated that an opinion of approval may be classified as "pro-labor" (Table 2). Incidentally, the separation of these polls from those dealing with the economic functions of government is somewhat artificial, because most of them relate directly to some question of governmental policy with regard to labor.

The pattern of farmer opinion on these labor issues is very much like the pattern on topics dealing with economic actions of government. On each of the ten topics, views favorable to labor were offered by smaller percentages of farmers than of the general public. Inspection of the corresponding no-opinion percentages and con-percentages (not presented in Table 2) confirms an inference from study of the pro-percentages that the distributions of farmer groups were like the distributions of professional, white-collar, business, and executive groups, but unlike the distributions of labor groups. There is one suggestion of a contradiction in the inference that many farmers, normally hesitant to have government enlarge its powers, approved using the power of government to restrain labor (Table 2), as they approved also the use of the power of government to support farm prices (Table 1).

On nine of the ten polls, farmers are at the lowest extreme and laborers at the highest extreme, when the subsamples are arrayed by the percentages of pro-labor response. Even the labor pro-percentages, however, are under 50 on six of the ten topics, repre-

⁹ This is more readily apparent from the percentage distributions of "yes-no-other" responses, but may also be inferred from these tables of pro-percentages.

TABLE 2. COMPARISON OF FARMERS WITH TOTAL SAMPLE AND MOST EXTREME SUBSAMPLES, BY PERCENTAGE EXPRESSING PRO-LABOR OPINION ON TEN SPECIFIED ISSUES (Postwar National Polls, 1946-1950)

Topic	Farmers	Total	Extreme groups	
			Least approval	Most approval
	Pro-percentages		Pro-percentages	
Raising minimum wage from 40¢ to 65¢	51	68	51 (Farmers)	81 (Manual workers)
Right to strike, in general.....	47	62	47 (Farmers)	67 (Professionals & businessmen)
General approval of unions.....	41	*	41 (Farmers)	67 (Manual workers)
In refereeing disputes, would favor labor	24	26	18 (Executives)	39 (Workers)
Right to strike in public services....	22	30	22 (Farmers)	33 (Manual workers)
Higher union wages.....	19	38	19 (Farmers)	59 (Union members)
Repeal Taft-Hartley Law.....	17	30	17 (Farmers)	36 (Manual workers)
Prefer union shop over other types..	11	18	11 (Farmers)	33 (Union members)
Union contributions to campaign funds.....	10	17	10 (Farmers)	26 (Union members)
Paying unemployment benefits to strikers	10	21	10 (Farmers)	38 (Union members)

* Not available.

senting minority rather than majority approval.

A bare majority of the farmers approved raising minimum wages; nearly half of them acknowledged the general right of labor to strike; four in ten approved of labor unions "in general." On no other issue did as many as a fourth of the farmers register the pro-labor position. Even on the most unpopular propositions—that unions be permitted to contribute to political campaign funds, and that unemployment benefits be paid to strikers—one farmer in ten gave the pro-labor reaction.

Again the analyst faces a temptation to simplify description by elliptical sequences of words. It would be easy to say that farmers feel more strongly than do workers that unions should be

regulated by the government, because only 17 per cent of them, compared with 36 per cent of the manual workers, want the Taft-Hartley Law repealed. Actually, all that we are shown is that relatively (percentage-wise) fewer farmers than workers want the restrictions of a law removed. Even so, nearly one farmer in six favors its repeal. It is not accurate to say that "farmers are for regulation" and "laborers are not for regulation." And in this case the fact that majorities of manual workers, the general public, and farmers were on the same side of the issue is more significant than the percentage-point differences. The worker public—the farmer public—the general public, to that extent, are one public; and the farmer class is more in than out, more like than unlike the general public.

INTERNATIONAL ISSUES: A REVIEW
OF POLLS

Farmers are generally thought to be provincial and ethnocentric. A comparison of their stands on international matters should provide a good test of the rural-urban difference hypotheses. On the international issues for which poll tabulations are available, the dis-

tributions of farmers by shadings of opinion were, in general, not unlike the distributions for the public at large (Table 3). Neither farmers nor the general public seemed clearly isolationist or internationalist—the pro-percentages for the two were very close (within three percentage points of each other) on 6 of the 11 topics in the field of international relations.

TABLE 3. COMPARISON OF FARMERS WITH TOTAL SAMPLE AND MOST EXTREME SUBSAMPLES, BY PERCENTAGE FAVORING SELECTED PROPOSITIONS CONCERNING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, PARTICULARLY UNITED STATES-RUSSIAN RELATIONS (Postwar National Polls, 1946-1950)

Topic	Farmers	Total	Extreme groups	
			Least approval	Most approval
<i>International Affairs in General:</i>	<i>Pro-percentages</i>		<i>Pro-percentages</i>	
To declare war, Congress should have national vote of approval	71	71	66 (Small-town dwellers)	72 (City dwellers)
U. S. should join World Congress to solve problems between countries.	56	62	56 (Farmers)	67 (Large-city dwellers)
U. S. should send enough food to Europe for health, even if we have less at home.	33	43	33 (Farmers; factory workers)	60 (Professionals & businessmen)
Send food to Europe only if paid for	19	14	7 (Professionals & executives)	19 (Factory workers; farmers)
<i>Relations Between the U.S.A. and Russia:</i>				
Russia is building up merely for self-protection.	29	29	26 (Manual workers)	36 (Professionals & businessmen)
U. S. should not go ahead with treaties without Russia.	19	25	19 (Farmers)	31 (White-collar workers)
Russian government sincerely desires peace	13	16	13 (Farmers)	18 (White-collar workers; professionals & businessmen)
U. S. should give Berlin to the Russians	11	11	8 (Professionals & businessmen)	12 (Manual workers)
U. S. should pull out of U. N. if Russia continues to block.	11	13	11 (Farmers)	16 (Manual workers)
Business firms should continue selling to Russians.	9	15	9 (Farmers)	21 (Professionals & businessmen)
U. S. is too tough on Russia.	5	6	4 (Manual workers)	9 (Professionals & businessmen)

Farmers appeared at the lowest extreme, or were the subgroup with the smallest pro-percentage, on 6 of the 11 topics; but, in contrast to their alignment on economic-action and labor issues, farmers here are set off against labor as the opposite extreme only once, and are more typically in opposition to the business and professional or the white-collar subgrouping. Labor, "small-townners," and farmers held all but 2 of the 11 "low score" positions, yielding the position of smallest pro-percentage on only those two items to professional and business groups.

The subgroupings were less widely separated in the degree of approval they gave these issues than they were on economic-action and labor issues, although alignments varied more. Even so, it is apparent that the percentage of farmers expressing approval exceeded that of the general public on only 1 of the 11 polls. Many of the postwar polls on international questions have concerned Russian-United States relationships specifically. On the six topics mentioning phases of our relations with Russia, the pro-Russian view was expressed by small minorities of the general public, but by even smaller minorities of farmers and workers.

It can be concluded that farmers were no more or no less international-minded than the public at large, labor groups, or business and professional groups. Rural-urban or inter-occupational differences on these issues were clearly less pronounced than on the domestic issues of government economic roles and labor policy. Perhaps during and after the tensions of war the traditionalism of farmers had been pressed into accord with the views of the urbanites.

SELECTED PUBLIC QUESTIONS:

A REVIEW OF POLLS

Polls dealing with a variety of topics are here grouped under "selected public questions," for want of a better

classification (Table 4). On each of the eight issues, farmers were at either one extreme or the other in relation to other subgroups. They had the largest percentage favoring prohibition, wanting membership in the Communist party to be forbidden, and preferring standard to daylight-saving time. They had the smallest percentage for including farmers under Social Security, for a national health act, for universal military training, and for Negro-white equality in rights to jobs. There are moral overtones of Puritanism, individualism, loyalty, and related values in these reactions—as well as strength of vested interest in oleomargarine taxes (protecting the butter market) and just plain traditionalism as in the repudiation of daylight-saving time.

Here, as in issues dealing with international matters, there is no consistent opposition of the farmer and labor subgroups as extremes. Farmers are set off against workers on only two items; they are opposite white-collar groups on four items and dwellers in the largest cities on two items. The divergence of the farmer from other groups was sharpest on the prohibition and daylight-saving questions. The old matrix of rurality is evident, but it is not fully determinant of the opinions expressed. Whether there is a farmer-labor or rural-urban difference depends upon the issue.

EDUCATION, EMPLOYMENT, "LOT IN LIFE":

A REVIEW OF POLLS

Other polls have dealt with questions of more personal reference than those considered under the previous headings: the desirability of education for one's children; one's preference for type of work; one's satisfaction with conditions of living, or "lot in life" (Table 5).

The proportion of farmers wanting sons to go to college, although a majority (53 per cent), is lower than that of any other group—and quite in con-

RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES

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TABLE 4. COMPARISON OF FARMERS WITH TOTAL SAMPLE AND MOST EXTREME SUBSAMPLES, BY PERCENTAGE APPROVING SPECIFIED STATEMENTS ON PUBLIC QUESTIONS (Postwar National Polls, 1946-1950)

Topic	Farmers	Total	Extreme groups	
			Least approval	Most approval
<i>Social Legislation:</i>	<i>Pro-percentages</i>		<i>Pro-percentages</i>	
Would vote for national prohibition	53	35	27 (Residents in largest cities)	53 (Farmers)
Including farmers in social security programs	49	57	49 (Farmers)	59 (Manual workers)
Preference for national health act over Blue Cross plan	26	33	26 (Farmers)	39 (Manual workers)
<i>Universal Military Training:</i>				
Universal military training for one year	69	74	69 (Farmers)	81 (White-collar workers)
<i>Control of Communism:</i>				
Membership in Communist party should be forbidden	69	62	56 (Professionals & businessmen)	69 (Farmers)
<i>Special Taxes:</i>				
Removal of taxes on oleomargarine	39	69	39 (Farmers)	78 (Professionals & businessmen)
<i>Race Relations:</i>				
Negroes and whites should have same chance to get any job	40	47	40 (Farmers)	65 (Professionals)
<i>Daylight-Saving Time:</i>				
Prefer standard over daylight-saving time	71	42	24 (Residents in largest cities)	71 (Farmers)

trast to the white-collar pro-percentage. The presence of education as a white-collar value in American life is conspicuous; but who can say college education is not also a rural value if half the farmers are for it? The difference between the pro-percentages for sons and daughters is only five percentage points (53-48), and is less significant than the fact that nearly half of the farmers would send their daughters to college ("other things being equal"). Among the subgroups here studied, the approval of college education as a value seems less developed in worker than in farmer or white-collar occupational grades.

Large majorities preferred security

of work to high wages, and farmers were with the general public on this item (81 per cent). A characteristic reaction also is the preference of the farmer—like that of professional and business people—for self-employment. This is a high-priority value for manual workers, too (61 per cent). The value of self-employment must have outlived the possibility of its fulfillment in a society of mass production and group business. As a value, however, it is apparently no more rural nor urban than it is "American."

In satisfaction with "lot in life," expressed variously in five polls here reviewed, farmers were ahead of the general public. On four of the five

TABLE 5. COMPARISON OF FARMERS WITH TOTAL SAMPLE AND MOST EXTREME SUBSAMPLES, BY PERCENTAGE APPROVING SPECIFIED STATEMENTS ON EDUCATION, TYPES OF EMPLOYMENT, AND "LOT IN LIFE"
(Postwar National Polls, 1946-1950)

Topic	Farmers	Total	Extreme groups	
			Least approval	Most approval
<i>Importance of Education:</i>				
Would want a son to go to college.	53	62	53 (Farmers)	77 (White-collar workers)
Would want a daughter to go to college	48	50	38 (Wage earners)	74 (Professionals & executives)
Young men need college training to get along well	47	54	35 (Nonfarm labor)	74 (Professionals)
<i>Preferred Types of Employment:</i>				
Prefer secure job to high-paying job	81	81	76 (Professionals & businessmen)	84 (Manual workers)
Prefer own business to working for others	80	68	61 (Manual workers)	81 (Professionals & businessmen)
Rather work for private firm than government	39	41	33 (Professionals & businessmen)	49 (Manual workers)
<i>Satisfaction with "Lot in Life":</i>				
Satisfied with "lot in life"	84	*	71 (Manual workers)	88 (Professionals & businessmen)
Satisfied with present housing	84	66	50 (Residents in largest cities)	84 (Farmers)
Farmer is better off than city dweller	83	73	66 (Residents in largest cities)	83 (Farmers)
Farmer is happier than man in city	73	65	55 (Residents in largest cities)	73 (Farmers)
If beginning again, would enter same work	70	55	46 (Manual workers)	70 (Farmers; professionals & businessmen)

* Not available.

items they were in the most-approval position, and apparently were closer to business and professional groups than to any other subgroups in general satisfaction with "lot in life" and with work. The public generally, and especially the residents of large cities, were less satisfied with housing and less certain that farmers are better off or happier than city people.

Satisfaction is probably an accompaniment of conservatism, and here

seems more characteristic of farmers than others, but clearly evident for a majority of each subgroup. Such rural-urban differences as exist are only in degree.

CONCLUSIONS FROM THE REVIEW OF POLLS

The review here presented does not complete the analysis of farmer opinion as an expression of rural values and, thus, as an index to the character

of rural society. Certain details of tabulation are as yet unattended to. The grouping of polls into prewar, war, and postwar time-blocks will permit more thoroughgoing analysis. Another possible grouping would be by issues on which farmer-labor or rural-urban contrasts are sharpest or agreement most pronounced. No doubt conclusions would thus be revealed.

The effort thus far, however, raises important research questions. If farmer opinions could be sorted by type-of-farming areas and cultural regions, what further diversities might we find? If they could be sorted on more issues by income and land-tenure status, what varieties would be revealed? If the statistical adequacy of farmer samples were more carefully tested for representativeness of types of farming and of social strata, what qualifications in interpretation might we have to state? If international comparisons were made, what universalities might be isolated? What would be the result of special studies of the no-opinion, no-information, undecided responses?

The review of polls also yields some tentative conclusions, appropriate to offer at this point. When table forms were first being set up and captions chosen for the table columns to be used in this study, the plan was to speak of the general public, the farmer public, and the publics most extremely like and unlike farmers. When the distributions within each category were noted, however, this application of the concept "public" was abandoned. The "public" that approved giving Berlin to the Russians includes 11 per cent of the farmers, 8 per cent of the business and professional people, and 12 per cent of the manual workers; but neither the pro-public nor con-public includes all the farmers, or all the business and professional workers, or all the laborers.

On most issues of national interest, the majorities of farmers express opinions consistent with and supported by the values and attitudes associated with orthodox (classical) sociological conceptions of the nature of rural society and culture. On no issue of national interest do all farmers alone present a solid front of opinion either *pro* or *contra*. On all issues, there are divisions of *pro* and *con*, and intervening distributions—among farmers themselves, and among the members of any other group. Unanimity is not found on any topic.

Strains of conservatism have influenced farmer pro-percentages and con-percentages most conspicuously in areas of personal and social concern, and least conspicuously in areas of international relations. It might have been expected that our "rural heritage," to borrow Williams'¹⁰ phrase, would lead farmers to differ from the general public as much in opinions on international matters as on other issues. Apparently the character of world events in recent years has affected farmers as much as any others in American society, and farmers have been pressed by the urgency of the times to lean away from their former provincialism—at least far enough to bring them into general conformance with the views of Americans at large.

Most reactions on public questions, labor issues, and economic functions of government betray also the operation of underlying rural values; but many of these issues deal with situations beyond the range of everyday contact, beyond the scope of intimate participation. They are not so close to the individual as are matters moral, social, and personal.

¹⁰ James Mickel Williams, *Our Rural Heritage* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1925), pp. xvii-246.

PROBLEMS OF THEORY AND METHOD IN THE STUDY OF SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN RURAL SOCIETY*

by Harold F. Kaufman, Otis Dudley Duncan, Neal Gross,
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ABSTRACT

The paper focuses on major research areas and needs in the field of social stratification, with special reference to rural society. Problem areas treated are (1) criteria of stratification and their interrelationships, (2) procedures employed in an operational definition of social strata, (3) the social unit in which a given system of stratification is operative, (4) cultural and group expressions of stratification, (5) vertical social mobility, and (6) stratification and social change.

Major methodological problems concern (1) discovering rationales for selecting and relating criteria of stratification, (2) perfecting socio-economic scales and prestige rating procedures, and (3) bridging the gap between the community and mass society approaches. Considerable interest has been shown in describing the cultural aspects of stratification as seen in patterns or styles of life, but much more attention is needed on group expressions of class interests, the channels and personality correlates of vertical social mobility, and social forces which produce change in systems of stratification.

This paper calls attention to major research needs and areas in the field of social stratification, with special application to rural society. The analysis is the outcome of a critical review of the empirical studies and discussions of theory available in the literature. Although a summary of this literature is beyond the limits of the paper, the re-

search areas central to or bearing on the topic of stratification which were examined may be mentioned: (1) community studies of stratification, (2) socio-economic scale construction, (3) tenure studies, (4) studies of occupational status and mobility, (5) research on rural poverty and disadvantaged classes, (6) standard of living studies, (7) sociometric studies of stratification, (8) studies of rural leadership, power, and pressure groups, (9) opinion research on stratification, and (10) analyses of the historical development of stratification. (Some representative studies dealing with rural stratification are cited below.)

The term "social stratification" is used in various senses, of which these three may be noted: (1) the differentiation of an actual population into subgroups or subcategories which may be characterized as bearing to one another the relationship of social inequality; (2) the abstract cultural or structural system of hierarchic or quasi-hierarchic social relationships; (3) the general rubric for the processes involved in the origin, maintenance, or

*This paper is a revision of one read at the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society held in Madison, Wis., Sept. 2-4, 1951. The paper is the work of the Subcommittee on Social Stratification of the *Ad Hoc* Research Committee formed by the Rural Sociological Society in Dec., 1948, "to appraise the whole field of rural sociology." The members of the Subcommittee on Social Stratification, the authors of this paper, conceived of their task as threefold—namely, (1) a critical review of the literature in the field, (2) a statement of the central research issues and problems, and (3) a consideration of the organization and application to action programs of stratification research. The discussion to follow represents phase (2) of the above task.

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modification of those aspects of population differentiation and social structure just referred to—and therefore comprehensive of such processes as social mobility, metabolism, circulation, "rigidification," and class struggle.

A careful distinction must be made between empirical description of concrete processes and relationships, and theoretical typification of schemes or systems of stratification structure. The investigator must remind himself that stratification is but one axis or dimension of social structure and process, and that it needs to be seen in its relation to other elements of social organization.

The subsequent discussion presents a general appraisal of the current status of rural stratification research, in such a form—it is hoped—as to highlight the major issues that confront workers in this field, and to indicate the leading problems which require intensive investigation. These may be summarized as follows: (1) Basic research still needs to be done on the nature of social stratification and to determine the appropriate criterion variables for the description and analysis of stratification. (2) Empirical procedures used in past studies of stratification raise difficult and unsolved technical problems, and, more important, are often lacking in theoretical adequacy and relevance. (3) Clarification is needed in stratification research as to the social unit to which findings are to apply. In particular, work is needed to close the gap between the "local community" and "mass society" approaches. (4) Stratification research must go beyond the static approach of depicting a "class" structure and its correlates, in order to see stratification not only in terms of the variant personal orientations, cultural expressions, and life styles of different strata, but also as a basis for political action, pressure group behavior, social movements, conflict, and

collective behavior in general. (5) The **greatly neglected field of social mobility** requires intensive exploration to gain an accurate notion of the incidence and amount of mobility, the channels of and barriers to mobility, and the relation of mobility to the personal attributes and career orientations of individuals at differing levels of the stratification structure. (6) One of the greatest deficiencies in our present knowledge of stratification is with regard to the forces producing, maintaining, and modifying the bases, form, and extent of stratification. Little has been done to chart the direction and amount of change in stratification patterns, much less to reach an understanding of the processes of such changes.

CRITERIA OF STRATIFICATION AND THEIR INTERRELATIONSHIPS

Many different variables have been employed in studies of rural life to describe and measure stratification, for example: farm tenure status, size of holdings, consumption items, income, education, occupation, community rank or prestige, socio-economic scale score, organizational memberships, personal qualities, ideology, race, number and nature of informal contacts, cleavages on community and national issues, and years lived in an area. It has not always been clear whether such items are to be considered (1) as "bases" of stratification—i.e., attributes on which individuals or groups are to be identified as superior or inferior in position; or (2) merely as indices of superiority or inferiority. The fact that some of these items may be considered alternatively as "bases" and as "indices" raises the empirical—rather than purely logical—problem of the interrelationships of stratification variables.

One way to pose the problem is as follows. There is a wide diversity of possible bases of stratification—as wide as the range of variation in personal attributes and cultural valuations. But

whatever the basis, stratification may be recognized in terms of the differentials in (1) power, (2) prestige, and (3) life chances. *Power* includes both the institutionally sanctioned and the informally exercised ability to control the actions of others and to dispose of means to valued ends. Power may accrue to an individual in the form of politico-legal authority, as resources which can be brought to bear on important decisions and transactions, or merely by a diffusion of prestige which carries a weight of authority. *Prestige* is recognized by and expressed in acts and tokens of deference. It may be formally sanctioned and symbolized by titles, ritual behavior, and the like; or it may be only a latent aspect of an objective status. *Life chances* refers to the categorical risk or probability that individuals of a given stratum will have access to certain desirable values or be subject to certain undesired eventualities in their careers. Differential life chances appear in every institutional area of society—e.g., safety, health, consumption, mental disorder, criminality, marriage, etc.

Within this frame of reference the descriptive task of stratification research is (1) to find and apply appropriate measures of the distribution of power, prestige, and life chances; (2) to discover what are the bases of these three phases of stratification; (3) to find out how the phenomena of stratification are perceived by the participants in them, the nature and extent of identification with and consciousness of "class," and the degree to which stratification patterns are experienced as a formal or manifest set of ranks, categories, or classes; (4) to analyze systematically the interrelationships of these elements of stratification. The general failure to discern the distinctions among these different problems and to pose explicitly the question of the relationships among them is re-

sponsible for much confusion and controversy.

The foregoing outline makes it clear that the customary procedure of "stratifying" a population or community according to some one or more arbitrarily chosen "criteria" is not likely to be productive of an adequate theoretical understanding of stratification. We need, rather, to develop systematic empirical rationales for the measurement of social inequality, and for discovering the bases of social stratification. The former kind of work has probably been inhibited by the relative ease of applying conventional kinds of indices, and by the strong "operational" orientation of some research workers. Perhaps the most sophisticated treatment of the matter of bases of stratification has been set forth by those who espouse an approach to stratification in terms of value theory.¹ But here again, it is clear that empirical technique fails to meet adequately the demands made by this theoretical position, if it is taken seriously.

Further efforts to clarify stratification theory will have to take account of certain facts which are seemingly well established by research. There do exist definite statistical relationships among the various criteria and correlates of stratification which have been investigated, though the degree of association between any two such variables always falls well below unity, except in the case of variables which are tautologically identical. It is well recognized that techniques of statistical analysis—the conventional ones, at any rate—cannot adequately reveal the functional relationships holding among these variables; but techniques for inferring such relationships are probably even

¹ See Hans Speier, "Social Stratification in the Urban Community," *American Sociological Review*, I (Apr., 1936), 193-202; Harold F. Kaufman, *Defining Prestige in a Rural Community*, Sociometry Monograph, No. 10 (New York: Beacon House, 1946).

more crude than those of statistical analysis.

On any level of analysis, the lack of perfect inter-criteria associations means that there can be no such thing as a single, univocal "stratification system" in which every individual can be uniquely placed. From the standpoint of the individual, there will often be instances of "disaffine," "incongruous," or "disjunctive" statuses.² From the standpoint of the social unit under analysis it means that there are "faults," "interstices," and other "defects" in the stratification structure that make more or less fictitious any simple scheme of strata, classes, and the like. The perceptions by the persons involved of the stratification structure are apt to be much more variable and ambiguous than are the constructs supplied by investigators to date. This suggests that much detailed empirical work needs to be done before the "formal" aspect of stratification—currently discussed in terms of schemes of "classes"—can be grappled with effectively.

In sum, the research questions raised by this section are along the following lines: For any given unit of study, what is the nature and extent of differentials in power, prestige, and life chances? What variables or items constitute the bases of these differentiations? To what extent is there a complex of coherent interrelationships of these bases and differentials? What theoretically justifiable functional interpretation can be made of the observed relationships? To what extent do the facts square with a theoretical construct of a "stratification system"?

² Emile Benoit-Smullyan, "Status, Status Types, and Status Interrelationships," *American Sociological Review*, IX (Apr., 1944), 151-61; P. A. Sorokin, *Society, Culture and Personality* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1947), pp. 229-94.

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

Some problems of techniques used in empirical studies may be illustrated by a consideration of two of the most commonly employed devices for stratifying a population, i.e., prestige ratings by judges and socio-economic status scales. These tools are noteworthy for the amount of methodological work which has been directed toward their development and refinement. Yet, even in these relatively favorable cases, pointed questions must be raised concerning the methodological rationale and the theoretical assumptions on which they rest. The situation is probably no better for other commonly used indices and procedures.

Prestige Ratings. The use of judges to determine community rank³ requires (1) a selection of raters, (2) a selection of persons to be rated, (3) a choice of method of rating, and (4) a decision as to the method for combining ratings.

Criteria need to be developed by which judges or key informants may be selected. As the problem is usually stated, what is desired is a panel of raters numerous enough to provide statistical reliability, all of whom have both wide and intimate knowledge of the community, but not selected to weight unduly any one stratum.⁴ These qualifications may not be mutually

³ Cf., E. A. Schuler, "Social and Economic Status in a Louisiana Hills Community," *Rural Sociology*, V (Mar., 1940), 69-87; John Useem, Pierre Tangent, and Ruth Useem, "Stratification in a Prairie Town," *American Sociological Review*, VII (June, 1942), 331-342; H. F. Kaufman, *Prestige Classes in a New York Rural Community*, Cornell AES Memoir 260, Ithaca, N. Y., 1944; Otis Dudley Duncan and Jay W. Artis, *Social Stratification in a Pennsylvania Rural Community*, Pa. AES Bull. 543, State College, 1951.

⁴ This assumes that all strata have a relatively equal importance in determining rank. This may or may not be true. Cf., Kaufman, *Defining Prestige in a Rural Community*, op. cit.

compatible, since the persons with a wide knowledge of the community may not represent all strata nor form a large enough group. Persons of upper rank, such as the postmaster and well-to-do farmer, are likely to have much more extensive acquaintanceships but form a decidedly smaller proportion of the total population than persons of lower rank.

The persons rated should include either all members of the community or a representative sample. The former demands judges of extensive acquaintanceship; the latter, an explicit rationale for sampling.

Issues dealing with the method of rating involve the questions of whether the raters should work in terms of a fixed set of classes or in terms of a more flexible scale, and of the kind of content that is to be given the continuum on which ratings are made. If a set of classes is laid down in advance, raters will inevitably come up with a classification of the population into classes. This will beg the question as to whether such classes actually exist in the community in the minds of the judges as they go about their everyday life. On the other hand, if each rater is allowed to devise his own scheme of classes, there will be a difficult technical problem of combining the work of several raters. No satisfactory resolution of this problem is yet available.

It has been customary to define the continuum for rating purposes in general terms such as prestige, community standing, community reputation, and the like. In other words, the researcher has been demanding a "total" rather than a "segmental" judgment. While it is a matter of some interest to investigate what specific content is given to such general terms by key informants, the technique in a sense begs the question of whether people do, in fact, regularly interact on the basis of total judgments of prestige rather than

judgments which are specific to situations.

The method of combining ratings will depend somewhat on the method of rating used. In most cases it will be found that raters come up with quite different distributions of ratings, and even different numbers of classes or categories, if they are allowed to vary these. Under these circumstances, it is hard to justify the simple averaging of arbitrary rank numbers assigned to categories. The method of reexpressing the rating distributions in percentiles and then averaging the percentile values recommends itself because of the minimum number of arbitrary assumptions involved. It might be preferable, however, to "normalize" the rating distributions, in order to get a prestige index which is in the most convenient form for statistical manipulation. Whatever the method used, it is clear that the ultimate distribution of ratings is largely determined by the statistical devices used to produce that distribution.

Socio-Economic Status Scales.⁵ These indices have been widely employed, and their use has led to the building up of a considerable body of evidence concerning the correlates of status in rural society. A great part of their success is to be attributed to the relative ease of administration, and the comparatively high degree of reliability which may be attained. It is somewhat para-

⁵ See William H. Sewell, *The Construction and Standardization of a Scale for the Measurement of the Socio-Economic Status of Oklahoma Farm Families*, Okla. AES Tech. Bull. 9, Stillwater, 1940; William H. Sewell, "A Short Form of the Farm Family Socio-Economic Status Scale," *Rural Sociology*, VIII (June, 1943), 161-70; John C. Belcher, "Evaluation and Restandardization of Sewell's Socio-Economic Scale," *Rural Sociology*, XVI (Sept., 1951), 246-55; John C. Belcher and Emmet F. Sharp, *A Short Scale for Measuring Farm Family Level of Living*, Okla. AES Tech. Bull. T-46, Stillwater, Sept., 1952.

doxical that a research tool which is admittedly a powerful device from an empirical standpoint should, at the same time, have no clear-cut theoretical rationale. Typically the scales have been constructed on the basis of a more-or-less arbitrary composite definition of "socio-economic status"—a concept which is itself lacking in clarity and direct empirical reference. Clearly, there has been no attempt to relate the procedures of scale construction to any explicit theory of power, prestige, or life chances. As might be expected from the procedures used in selecting items, recent research has shown that the best-known rural socio-economic status scale lacks "unidimensionality," according to the Guttman criteria of scalability,⁶ and at least two factors—"level of living" and "social participation"—are clearly present in the content of the items.⁷

Though lacking in an explicit theoretical rationale, socio-economic status scales have been constructed on the implicit premise that items in the material level of living are highly correlated with and indicative of other aspects of status. The essential soundness of this premise is attested to by the results obtained with scales, as well as by common observation and findings from other kinds of research. The emphasis upon material level of living probably accounts for another feature of the experience with scales, i.e., the fact that they have been successfully used in a wide variety of situations geographically and temporally removed from the standardization samples. It is, of course, recognized that all extant scales are limited in validity to a particular culture, and that eco-

nomical and technological trends may invalidate certain items. However, a fairly large range of variation in these respects apparently can be tolerated without major loss in effectiveness.⁸ The main problem that has arisen is that, in areas of extremely high or low average levels of living, existing scales may lose discrimination at one end of the range. It is well to point out, though, that the claim for scales has been only that they provide a rough categorization of a population, rather than a precise ordinal ranking. In particular, most proponents of the socio-economic scale approach have refrained from attempting to set up intervals for defining natural "classes."

The properties of reliability, objectivity, and relative insensitivity to cultural variation recommend the use of socio-economic status scales in cross-community studies or in those embodying the "mass society" approach. No doubt their usefulness for this purpose would be improved if, in their standardization, care were taken to include a much wider range of regional and local conditions than has been the case in previous research.

SOCIAL SYSTEM IN WHICH STRATIFICATION IS OPERATIVE

Much confusion has arisen in stratification analysis because neither the population nor the social system to which the ranking applies has been made explicit. Social units which should be noted in which stratification may be operative are (1) functional groups, such as a church or farmers' organization, (2) primary communities, (3) secondary communities, (4) the mass society, and (5) institutional complexes within the mass society, e.g., the economic and political. The ques-

⁶ Mary Jordan Harris, *Review of Methods of Scale and Item Analysis and Their Application to a Level of Living Scale in North Carolina*, N. C. AES Prog. Rpt. Rs-13. Raleigh, 1951.

⁷ See Belcher and Sharp, *op. cit.*, pp. 10-16.

⁸ John C. Belcher, "Evaluation and Restandardization of Sewell's Socio-Economic Scale," *op. cit.*, 246-55; and William H. Sewell, "The Restandardization of a Sociometric Scale," *Social Forces*, XXI (Mar., 1943).

tion here is which unit is dominant with respect to stratification in rural society. The most useful criteria and procedures would depend at least in part on the answer to the above question. If, for example, rural stratification is largely a function of the mass society rather than the community, socio-economic scales would assume a relatively greater importance in research procedure and prestige ratings much less than if the reverse were true.

Making explicit the social unit or system not only delimits the population to be studied but also suggests the frame of reference or basis for evaluation. An investigation of the basis of evaluation necessarily focuses on the ethos of the social system.

An analyst may note the various social units suggested above in which stratification is operative, but what of the lay observer? Does the community member regard social rank as a unit, such as the "leading man of the town," or is the status of the particular person defined in a variety of ways depending on the social situation?

Tenure, occupation, and level-of-living items have long been employed by rural sociologists as indices of stratification.⁹ Within the last decade, however, considerable attention has been given to the study of community rank and using the town and country community as the social unit. This emphasis has led to the questioning of the importance of community forces in determining stratification. The major challenge to the community point of view has been by those who maintain

that the mass society is the chief determinant of stratification.

Basic assumptions of the community position are that rank is unitary and that the localistic value system is dominant. This may have been approximated in relatively isolated and stable rural communities of yesterday; but mass communication has broken down the isolation of rural people, and community bonds have been weakened by the rise of special-interest groups. In fact, the mass society might be characterized as an agglomerate of special-interest groups or publics, each having its own status hierarchy. The basis of evaluation is determined largely by secondary systems of economic and political power and by the mass media of communication.

An individual's community rank probably depends on his organizational statuses and the prevailing local rating of his personal qualities and achievements, as well as on evaluations originating in the mass society. Each community might be expected to have to a greater or lesser degree its own unique system of evaluations, conditioned, at least in part, by its niche in the division of labor of the society.¹⁰ It is impossible to equate the localistic ratings of one community with those of another; this can be done only by a frame of reference common to both, the evaluations of the mass society.

Stratification does have important functions in the community and the community can be used as the locus in determining rank. The major research issue here, however, deals with the source of the evaluation: Is it the mass society, the local community, or both; and in what way and to what degree?

⁹ See, for example, E. L. Kirkpatrick, *Farmers' Standard of Living* (New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1929); and appropriate studies in the "Social Research Reports" published by the Farm Security Administration and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics in the 1930's.

¹⁰ Cf., Otis Dudley Duncan and Jay W. Artis, "Some Problems of Stratification Research," *Rural Sociology*, XVI (Mar., 1951), 17-29.

CULTURAL AND GROUP EXPRESSIONS
OF STRATIFICATION

Although attention thus far in this paper has been focused on the structural aspects of stratification and problems of analyzing them, the study of stratification remains quite incomplete until some effort is made to see how this element of social organization ties in with others and relates to the cultural orientations, personal organization, and collective activities of the participants in a stratified group.

Typical Life Styles. Much effort has gone into the problem of delineating strata or classes and describing—usually in a drastically typological manner—the typical “ways of life” of members of the several strata.¹¹ Such descriptions emphasize manners, value complexes (“cultural profiles”), behavioral norms, family structure, and community roles. Thus, the “middle class” may be characterized as having a strong sense of propriety; emphasizing personal achievement and self-improvement; respecting sex and property mores; taking leadership in voluntary associations; and developing a small-family pattern, featuring conjugal equality. By contrast, “the lower class,” coping with more severe problems of economic insecurity, job mobility, and marital dissolution, is characterized as lacking in strong success orientations and Protestant virtues; indifferent to or merely tolerant of law and order and the behavioral codes of the middle class; nonparticipant in voluntary associations and organized religion; and freer in expression of aggressive and sexual impulses.

In fashioning and elaborating such accounts, the sociologist must always ask himself to what extent he is merely accepting stereotypical versions of reality vouchsafed by selected inform-

ants. While definite statistical support is at hand for some of the “class” differences suggested, in no class does so sharp a discontinuity in cultural characteristics appear as would be suggested by the theoretical cleavage present in the typology. If such typologies are to be used, they must be regarded primarily as a source of hypotheses for the direction of research, and not as desirable end products of research, since they may obscure fully as much as they reveal.

Group Expressions of Stratification. Class interests in rural society are expressed both in an informal and in an organized manner. Informal expressions are through intermarriage, cliques, and family life. The clique and the family have been regarded by some investigators as the basic units of social strata.¹² Empirical evidence tends to support this in that members of cliques and close relatives (siblings, parents, and children) tend to have the same or very similar social rank.¹³

Community studies of rural stratification have emphasized both informal and local interaction. Consequently, research is definitely needed on the organized expressions of status in the community and in the mass society. Persons of upper rank are the most highly organized and given organizations tend to draw all or a preponderance of their membership from one or more closely related social strata. The expression of class interests through economic and political organizations

¹² Allison Davis and John Dollard, *Children of Bondage* (American Council on Education, 1940); W. L. Warner and P. S. Lunt, *The Status System of a Modern Community* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942).

¹³ Kaufman, Cornell Memoir 260, *op. cit.* C. P. Loomis has developed the notion of a “sociometric description of status.” For a discussion of and reference to empirical studies, see C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1950), chaps. 10 and 11.

¹¹ See especially the work of the anthropological school—Warner, West, Useem, Allison Davis, and others.

has been emphasized in the European literature on stratification.¹⁴ Although these areas no doubt need more attention in rural studies, economic and political groups have been found to have the widest range of all groups as to class membership. Groups stressing leisure-time activities have the narrowest range, and churches are intermediate.¹⁵ A distinction must be drawn, of course, between the class composition of an organization's membership and the extent to which it actually furthers the class interests of those who control and lead it.

A basic problem in the dynamics of stratification is, therefore, to what extent pressure groups—e.g., farm organizations and labor unions—are the organized expression of class interests, keeping in mind the possibility that these groups may operate differently at the national level than in the community.¹⁶ It is also important to study to what extent pressure groups of seemingly similar socio-economic levels, e.g., farm owners and small businessmen, identify with and oppose each other. Where there is a conflict between groups of apparently comparable socio-economic levels, the explanation may possibly lie in factors of prestige and power operating in the mass society context, e.g., the national political arena.

Class orientations may be expressed in choice behavior, such as voting, mass media participation, and matters of taste and fashion. Similarly, recruitment to publics and social movements may have a class basis. There remains

the further problem of the degree to which such collectives so act as to further particular class interests.

Stratification Factors in Personal Organization. The problem of personality in relation to stratification has usually been formulated as one of discovering what personality types are characteristic of the several classes or strata, and of explaining these personality correlates in terms of typical subcultural patterns of child rearing and expectation demands. In the attack on this problem, with great reliance being placed on typological and informal observational procedures, little direct, rigorous evidence has been forthcoming to show (a) that there actually are specific class-linked patterns of child rearing, and (b) that the presumed personality differences do in fact exist, or to support the basic assumption (c) that particular training practices do in fact produce the personality characteristics in question.¹⁷ It would seem desirable to see some shift of attention from the problems of personality type and character structure toward a more general sociological concern. From a sociological standpoint, the basic problem in this area is the influence of position in the stratification structure on role expectations, the number and types of available roles, and role aspirations—as well as the possible in-

¹⁴ See C. H. Page, *Class and American Sociology* (New York: Dial Press, 1940).

¹⁵ See the community studies cited above, and Walter Goldschmidt, *As You Sow* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1947), chaps. 3-5.

¹⁶ Some suggestions on the dynamics of rural stratification may be gained from such a study as Wesley McCune, *The Farm Bloc* (New York: Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1943).

¹⁷ The evidence from a recent study indicates that some of the infant training practices which have been so greatly emphasized in the child development literature have no discernible influence on later personality adjustment. See William H. Sewell, "Infant Training and the Personality of the Child," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII, No. 2 (Sept., 1950), 150-159. Others who have reviewed the literature on child training and personality have questioned this assumption. See Harold Orlansky, "Infant Care and Personality," *Psychological Bulletin* No. 46 (Jan., 1949), pp. 1-48; and A. R. Lindesmith and A. L. Strauss, "Critique of Culture-Personality Writings," *American Sociological Review*, XV (Oct., 1950), 587-600.

fluence of class-oriented training practices on character or basic personality formation. The problem of personal organization is then seen as the problem of the individual's life chances, stated essentially in terms of what social roles are open to him with varying probabilities.

VERTICAL SOCIAL MOBILITY

A basic aspect of a system of stratification is whether or not strata are open so that individuals may move from one to another. Freedom of movement and the lack of crystallized strata have been regarded as essential characteristics of American society. The lack of distinct class lines makes it difficult to observe vertical mobility with precision.

A related problem is that of the unit of study, i.e., the mobility of an individual in the course of his career versus mobility as between successive generations. If research is focused on the latter, the emphasis is on (1) the amount and direction of mobility, and (2) channels of, and facilitators and barriers to, mobility. If career mobility is studied, an additional problem is that of (3) personality organization and adjustments demanded in the process of mobility. A problem deserving research consideration is the relationship between career and successive-generation mobility. In the case of career mobility, the methodological problem arising in successive-generation mobility studies—the inability of the top occupational strata to be upwardly mobile and the bottom occupational strata to be downwardly mobile—is avoided. Work in occupational mobility can also be improved by using age as a control factor in the analysis of the amount of mobility between successive generations. Inadequacy in this respect seriously impairs the conclusions of many studies in this area.

The problem of measuring mobility is also complicated by the fact that,

in a complex society, the many statuses an individual may hold are not likely to be congruous. This complication can be offset partly by the separate analysis of an individual's mobility in different status hierarchies. An intriguing research question is the relationship among mobility strides along different status dimensions.

A further complication is that the social structure itself may be undergoing change while mobility is in process. Some work has been done to disentangle, statistically, the effect of changing occupational structure on occupational mobility from mobility due to other causes.¹⁸

Major institutional channels of vertical social mobility in rural society which have been noted include land tenure, occupation, entrepreneurship, education, marriage, and associations.¹⁹ The degree to which these and other channels are open and the extent to which they operate together to implement or impede mobility are important research questions. Problems of this nature receiving the most attention in recent years are the lack of nonfarm job opportunities, poor educational facilities, and impediments to farm ownership. However, little is known regarding the extent to which these and other factors have affected social mobility of rural persons or generations.

Two areas of research bearing upon social mobility which have important implications for stratification theory and which have been developed by students of rural life are (1) farm tenancy research, and (2) studies of rural-urban migration. While much atten-

¹⁸ Natalie Rogoff, "Recent Trends in Urban Occupational Mobility," *Reader in Urban Sociology*, ed. Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss, Jr. (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951), pp. 406-20.

¹⁹ The most comprehensive treatment of mobility is to be found in P. A. Sorokin, *Social Mobility* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1927).

tion has been given in research to tenure status and process²⁰—primarily in terms of the concept of "agricultural ladder"—the results have contributed relatively little to knowledge of social mobility. Future research needs to be designed much more carefully to avoid ambiguities inherent in the use of such broad categories as "owner," "tenant," and "laborer," and to deal more rigorously with the problem of appropriate bases for the calculation of rates of movement and average durations in particular statuses. Furthermore, the study of mobility should be seen in a broad context of social change, since much individual mobility may simply reflect overall shifts in the distribution of income and status perquisites among occupational groups resulting from technological progress, national policy, or business fluctuations. Other than in the analysis of tenure, there has been little direct study of social mobility within rural society.

Rural-urban migration is necessarily an incident of mobility out of the rural occupational structure. In addition—it may be hypothesized—migration is often a response to frustrated aspirations for mobility within that structure. The major channels of mobility in the mass society become accessible to the rural individual, ordinarily, only if he departs from the local community. These factors may help to explain observed selectivity in rural-urban migration, e.g., the suggestion from some studies that persons of higher rank and

greater skills are more likely to go to the city.²¹

Mobility of the individual depends not only on social and economic opportunities available to him, but also on his personality organization and motivation. Many more questions could be raised here than could be answered with available findings. How do the level of aspiration and the level of achievement vary from stratum to stratum? What part do temperament, social experience, and social accident play in influencing one's ambitions and goals?

A related question is the impact of the norms and values of the local community and the family on the mobility aspirations of the individual. To what extent is mobility valued? What are the crucial criteria of mobility in the perceptions of the family and the provincial culture? How do these considerations affect the level of aspiration of the child? Answers to these questions may help explain the differential amount of social mobility between regions, communities, and among family types within the same community.

STRATIFICATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

Since stratification is a persistent and ubiquitous feature of complex societies, it may be presumed that there are deep-seated forces which work toward the maintenance of social inequalities of one type or another. Among those factors which seem most evidently responsible for the phenomenon are the division of labor, the ex-

²⁰ Extensive reference to tenure studies and documentation of trends may be found in any recent text in rural sociology, e.g., Paul H. Landis, *Rural Life in Process* (2nd ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill, 1948).

²¹ N. P. Gist, C. T. Pihlblad, and C. L. Gregory, *Selective Factors in Migration and Occupation*, University of Missouri Studies, Vol. 7, 1943; P. H. Landis, "Educational Selectivity of Rural-Urban Migration and Its Bearing on Wage and Occupational Adjustments," *Rural Sociology*, XI (Sept., 1946), 218-232; C. F. Reuss, "A Qualitative Study of Depopulation in a Remote Rural District: 1900-1930," *Rural Sociology*, II (Mar., 1937), 66-75.

istence of an economic surplus, and variation in individual attributes and abilities.

Among the modifications of stratification patterns which may occur are (1) shifts in the relative power, prestige, and life chances of distinguishable collectives or aggregates (sometimes referred to as "group mobility"); (2) changes in the basis of stratification, e.g., from property to skill; (3) fluctuations in the overall rate of mobility; (4) increase or decrease in the visibility of class lines and the amount of class conflict; (5) emergence of new statuses and sources of power, e.g., the rise of the public relations professions and groups skilled in the use of mass media; (6) changes in the degree of inequality in income, prestige, and the like. Not much concern with these and other problems of change has been evidenced in recent research—which has been almost exclusively guided by a static "structural-functional" imagery.

Some point to a more extensive and rigid stratification of rural life and give as evidence the loss of the frontier and its democratizing influence, the growth of farm tenancy and farm indebtedness, and the emergence of a pattern of large-scale, capitalistic-industrialized farming. The tendency to view such trends as "social problems" has deflected attention from them as changes in the stratification of rural society. Furthermore, sociologists for the most part have eschewed historical research on stratification. There are available only a few treatments of the subject by historians, more suggestive than definitive in value.²² A major difficulty is that of

finding appropriate time series of data which afford direct measures of stratification. For the most part changes in stratification, rather than being directly observable, have to be inferred from trends in related causal factors.

It is at least worth raising the question of whether the structural approach to stratification is capable of sustaining a thorough examination of change. Schematically, one would describe the stratification structure of at least two separate time periods, observe differences, and seek to account for the changes in structure. But it is doubtful whether, in a dynamic society, any one pattern of stratification is ever so completely explicit that one is justified in claiming to have described "the structure." More realistically, the temporal sequence might be regarded as a moving disequilibrium in which elements of stratification always remain imperfectly articulated. No doubt the conceptual equipment available for this kind of analysis is primitive as compared with that which has been elaborated for structural study. But at least one promising notion is that of "trend." The effort to discern stratification trends should probably be given at least as high a priority as the attempt to typify stratification structures.

In addition to the general problems raised above, a number of specific research questions deserve attention. For example, what is the impact of migration on the social stratification of the receiving and the sending community? A large exodus of upper-stratum children from a rural community undoubtedly has significant consequences for the future stratification of that community. Does the mechanism of social mobility fill up the available upper statuses? Does the exodus result in a greater tendency for

²² R. W. Shugg, *Origins of Class Struggle in Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1939); Frank L. Owsley, *Plain Folk of the Old South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1949); Arthur M. Schlesinger, "The Decline of Aristocracy in America," *New Viewpoints*

in American History (New York: Macmillan Co., 1922), chap. IV.

"leveling" previous status distinction? Such questions require empirical research, and they should be investigated in different socio-cultural areas to discern the effect of different sets of conditions on the relationship between migration and stratification. The impact of migration on the receiving community is of equal interest. We know that rural migration has important consequences for the number and composition of urban residents. But how does this steady stream of migrants affect the social stratification of the city?

Major social policies certainly are forces which influence the stratification structure. Some questions in this regard with significant theoretical and practical implications are: (1) How does the tax structure and social welfare legislation affect the social stratification of rural areas? (2) To what extent does federal farm legislation tend to maintain or change the status

quo of the social hierarchies in farm areas? (3) What impact does the business cycle have on rural social stratification?

CONCLUSION

The present writers have sought to emphasize the need for fundamental thinking and imaginative inquiry regarding the nature of social stratification, its correlates and consequences, and its dynamics. Attention has been given to problem areas rather than to particular hypotheses and research designs, since it is the writers' conviction that detailed research planning will have value only if there is awareness of the grave issues which confront the effort to advance knowledge in this area. The growing interest in research in stratification is a hopeful sign, provided such research is not devoted merely to the further confirmation of the very minimum set of insights which we now possess.

SOCIAL STRATIFICATION IN THE COLLECTIVE AGRICULTURAL SETTLEMENTS IN ISRAEL*

by Herbert A. Aurbach†

ABSTRACT

This paper attempts to demonstrate the growth of class stratification in the collective agricultural settlements of Israel. Among the factors discussed are: (1) the place of the collective in the national stratification; (2) the reestablishment of the subordinate role of women; (3) the abandonment of complete democratization of management and leadership; (4) the growth of job specialization; (5) the problem of hired labor and the "exploitation" of auxiliary groups; (6) the development of an age hierarchy; (7) the growth of individualism; and (8) the crystallization of intimate social groups. It is concluded that, although stratification is taking place, the class system developing is still a wide-open one. The attempt of the leadership to combat some of the negative aspects of stratification while maintaining a flexibility in adjusting to changing social conditions is promising. The success of such an adjustment may indicate the lower limits of stratification necessary in a changing society.

INTRODUCTION

The collective agricultural settlements in Israel (*kibbutz*—plural, *kibbutzim*; or *kvutza*—plural, *kvutzot*) are a unique social experiment. They exemplify one of the most extensive applications of collective living on a purely voluntary basis to be attempted in contemporary times. Dagan, founded in 1911, is the earliest established settlement still in existence. At the end of 1950, there were 214 such communities with a total of approximately 68,000 inhabitants, or about 6 per cent of Israel's total popu-

lation and about 30 per cent of the rural population.

These communities and the subculture which they have produced are the expression of an idealism that grew out of the catastrophic conditions besetting European Jews in the first half of the twentieth century. The idea of the collective stemmed from the social forces which impinged upon the young people in particular. The resulting ideological trends are described by Yissakhar:

The deep source of idealism which produced the *kibbutz* society was a combination of many factors. These, broadly speaking, can be divided into three main categories. Firstly, the national revolt of the Jew for independence and freedom. Secondly, his social revolt, particularly in Russia, which inspired the young Zionist with the conception of making his National Home a model of social equality and justice. Thirdly, the background of the youth movement in revolt against the overurbanization of society and struggling for the return to a life of nature, simple toil, and a youthful brotherhood linked by the idea of personal service . . . The *kibbutz* as a form of society, expressed all these strivings.¹

*This is a revision of a paper done for C. Arnold Anderson's course in "Social Classes" at the University of Kentucky. Since this paper was written the following articles, which in part seem to confirm and further elucidate some of the conclusions drawn here, have come to the writer's attention: John Hersey, "Our Far-Flung Correspondents; the Kibbutz," *The New Yorker*, April 19, 1952, pp. 97-111; Samuel Koenig, "The Crisis in Israel's Collective Settlements," *Jewish Social Studies*, XIV (1952), pp. 145-166; Eva Rosenfeld, "Social Stratification in a 'Classless' Society," *American Sociological Review*, XVI, No. 6 (1951), pp. 766-774.

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¹ Ya'akov Ben Yissakhar, "Kibbutz at the Crossroads," *Zionist Newsletter*, II (Nos. 6-12, 1949), No. 7, p. 1.

It is with the second of these ideals, the struggle for social justice and equality, that this paper primarily will be concerned. *Social stratification*, as used herein, refers to superordinate and subordinate social relationships. The members of the collectives set up certain standards of equality which today are being tested. The early founders hoped to eliminate social stratification completely in their new society. It is a conclusion of this paper that this idealistic objective has not been fulfilled. Despite all attempts to eliminate stratified relationships, it appears that they are now being—or have been—reestablished. This, it would seem, is due to a spontaneous readjustment of the collective societies to their own social needs. In other words, social stratification is once again revealed as a natural and functionally essential factor in the organization of any community.

Centers states that social classes are essentially "characterized as psychological or subjectively based groupings defined by the allegiance of their members."² By such criteria the members of the collectives would be of one class. They all—either by careful selection or intensive education (as is the case with the young people born into the collective)—are imbued with a highly idealistic Marxist ideology. All the members would identify themselves as "workers," using Centers' classification, and would hold very similar attitudes and beliefs about economic and political matters. Despite this, as will be shown below, objective indications of stratification are manifest. It may be argued that these are differentiating, rather than stratifying, factors; yet they have resulted in superordinate-subordinate relationships characteristic of stratification.

Davis³ differentiates between "non-stratified" and "stratified" status. The former may be combined in the same legitimate family, while the latter may not. Non-stratified statuses such as those based on sex and age, while they have an invidious element, are not ranked in a graded, hierarchal series. But, in terms of the definitions used in this paper, a superordinate-subordinate relationship does exist. Being a woman or a young person does in fact put one in a subordinate position in Western society, and as such, ranks persons in those categories below the males or older persons. The founders of the collectives felt that the basic cause for this was the complete economic dependence of the woman and young person on the male head of the family. They specifically attempted to give women and young people a full and equal social-economic role and thereby to eliminate this aspect of stratification.

PLACE IN THE NATIONAL STRATIFICATION

Before the growth of stratification within the collective communities is examined, it is important to consider the status of the members of the collective communities in the larger Israeli society. The reports of most observers point out that, at least during the pioneering period, being a member of a collective community gave the individual a highly regarded position in the social hierarchy of the national community. This, in turn, has reflected itself in a feeling of superiority over those who did not pioneer. Efroymson⁴ points out the great prestige accorded to members of the collectives by the people of all the strata of Israel's population. Aisenstadt indicates the rela-

² Richard Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1949), p. 210.

³ Kingsley Davis, *Human Society* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1949), pp. 364-366.

⁴ C. W. Efroymson, "Collective Agriculture in Israel," *Journal of Political Economy*, LVIII (1), p. 32.

tionship between the collectives and the overall community, as follows:

The socially creative force which constitutes the fundamental origin of the entire social structure of the *Yishub* (the colonizing groups in Israel), reached its peak in the colonies of the workers' settlements (this includes the cooperatives *moshavim odim*, as well as the collectives) The workers' settlement sees itself as a vital part of . . . [the] task of national creation. In fact, it considers itself to be the highest form. As a result a mutually positive attitude developed, an attitude which established the workers' settlements as one of the highest stages in the social scale of values of the *Yishub*.⁵

The members of the collectives have developed a very strong in-group feeling, the "we sentiment" referred to by Infield.⁶ The overall effect is a strong cohesiveness in the group and a strengthening of primary group bonds. There are other aspects to this, however. Attitudes of anti-urbanism and anti-intellectualism have developed. Werner described this when he referred to the "state of undeclared war [which] exists between Tel Aviv and the hinterlands,"⁷ and when he pointed out that the *Sabra* (youth born in Israel) of the workers' settlements, with few exceptions, "rejects his father or grandfather, for having spent endless hours in 'shule' (the synagogue), or the university, strengthening his brain at the expense of his body."⁸

This anti-intellectualism, along with strong nationalism, is also mentioned by Feuer in discussing some of the

problems in the education of these young people. He states:

Their methods of education have not been successful in the teaching of mathematics and foreign languages. During past years, the emotional resistance against the learning of English has been severe. More important, they find it hard to impart a humane, liberal, internationalistic philosophy to the new generation. The Sabras hate the Arabs, and were glad to see the left wing *kibbutzim* give up their policy of bi-nationalism.⁹

In a similar vein, John Hersey, after describing the 'synthesis of the Israeli immigrants into the larger community through their children, for whom the immigrant parents make great sacrifices, concludes that this over-solicitousness is paradoxically producing "a generation that represents the most wonderful resolved internationalism on earth today, but also a generation into which a burning and bitter nationalism is being bred."¹⁰

Thus the strong in-group feeling seems to have set off the members of the collectives as a separate stratum within the national structure, and they identify themselves as such. With the further industrialization of Israel, with the accompanying growth of urbanization and decline of the pioneering need, and with the reestablishment of intellectual achievement as legitimate pursuit, this trend may develop further.

"EQUALITY" OF THE SEXES

One of the ideals most highly valued in the collective movement has been the building of a new society in which social inequality of the sexes would be eliminated and women would be lifted from the subordinate role to which they had been relegated in most non-

⁵ S. N. Aisenstadt, "The Sociological Structure of the Jewish Community in Palestine," *Jewish Social Studies*, X (1948), pp. 13-15.

⁶ Henrick Infield, *Cooperative Living in Palestine* (New York: Dryden Press, 1944), pp. 142-145.

⁷ Alfred Werner, "The Sabra: Jew with Roots," *New Republic*, December 18, 1950, p. 14.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁹ Lewis S. Feuer, "The Quality of Life in Israel's Collectives," *Commentary*, IX (June, 1950), p. 504.

¹⁰ John Hersey, "A Reporter at Large—The Ingathering of the Exiles," *The New Yorker*, Nov. 24, 1951, p. 85.

collective societies. Yissakhar states:

From the outset, the pioneers . . . believed that the basis of this inequality was an economic one—that the confinement of woman's work to domestic duties and the rearing of children as a full-time occupation made her dependent for her livelihood upon the earnings of her husband and thereby produced a state of inequality within the family and the wider society as a whole.¹¹

The collectives attempted to rectify the situation by giving the women a full and equal participation in communal life. Women at first assumed equal social, political, and economic roles. They worked side by side with the men in all activities. In 1939, Revusky described the unique position of the woman in the collective:

She lives there on the basis of absolute equality. She is not only accorded an equal voice in all decisions of the *Kvutza*, but she also participates to a considerable extent in all branches of agricultural activity . . . there was even for a time a marked tendency to emancipate women from kitchen drudgery by assigning an equal number of men to various domestic jobs.¹²

Not only was all the agricultural and construction work done on a collective basis, but such domestic jobs as those in the laundry, in the communal kitchen, and in the children's house were shared by both men and women. Since women were to share fully in the economic functioning of the community, it was essential that they be relieved of the responsibility of bringing up their children. A communal children's house was established to care for and educate the child from infancy until he was ready to assume a full membership in the collective. Thus the mother, and the father as well, was freed of all economic and social responsibility for the care of the child. However, the parents spent much of their free time each day in

close relationship with their children, during which time they were not encumbered with any of the duties, responsibilities, or worries found in the usual family relationship.

In this way the collectives attempted to erase the lines of stratification that had developed between the sexes. The social and economic roles of men and women in these communities were equated, and ideally the superordinate and subordinate position of the sexes in the social hierarchy was to disappear. Yet it seems that slowly, but in a definite pattern, the socio-economic hierarchy of the sexes is being reestablished.

Revusky stated that the efforts to assign an equal number of men to various domestic jobs had been unsuccessful and "the kitchen and children's house are now generally conceded to be a monopoly of women."¹³ The trend toward the specialization of the women's economic role was gradual. Because of the biological limitations of their physical capabilities, women were unable to assume an equal role in hard, manual labor. The first step, then, was to relieve women of their duties in the heavy agricultural work and place them in auxiliary enterprises, such as the vegetable garden, poultry, orchard and vineyard, and beekeeping. Then came the establishment of the principle that domestic work, referred to as "social service," was to be considered on a par with all other phases of the economy—each task to be regarded as socially necessary. Slowly, however, women assumed completely the domestic work. Yissakhar points up this development:

As the *kibbutz* developed and had to struggle at all times on a meager budget, it often had to make a hard choice between employing men in occupations also suited for women because of the greater profit derived from their labour

¹¹ Yissakhar, *op. cit.*, No. 3, p. 1.

¹² Abraham Revusky, *Jews in Palestine* (New York: Vanguard Press, 1945), pp. 128-129.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 128-129.

... the greater expansion of the children's community (and the other domestic facilities—the kitchen, laundry, and food store) within the Kibbutz Movement in the last decade has absorbed an ever-increasing number of womenfolk in the social services of the kibbutz and sorely limited the number employed in the income-earning branches of its economy.¹⁴

In another important aspect of social relations, there is a strong indication of inequality between the sexes. Despite the ideal of complete political equality, the findings of a recent inquiry quoted by Yissakhar concluded that "women were sadly absent from the central executive, administrative, social, and cultural institutions of the Kibbutz Movement as a whole, and poorly represented in those of the individual settlements."¹⁵ The commission of inquiry tended to blame this on the reluctance of the women to assume responsibility, because of the duties involved in their dual role as mother and active participant in the community. Whatever the reason, however, no attempt to activate women to assume leadership in the political, social, and cultural affairs of the collective communities has met with success. For all practical purposes, the collective remains a male-dominated social hierarchy. This condition seems to be even more true of the national federations of collectives, in which women hold very few positions of authority and responsibility.

OCCUPATIONAL STRATIFICATION

In the early days, the founders of the collectives made a definite effort to prevent occupational stratification from developing. Not only were all jobs in the collective regarded as having equal functional importance, but all jobs were rotated within the community. Similarly, all administrative

tasks were regularly rotated to prevent the concentration of power in the hands of a few people and to prevent the development of a bureaucratic hierarchy. The role of the manager was eliminated; for this above all was regarded as a capitalistic means of exploitation of the workers. Despite all these efforts, an occupational hierarchy seems to be developing.

Revusky recalls the earlier techniques of management:

There were certain *kvutzot* whose membership were so jealous of the ultra-democratic characteristics of their settlements that they established a rotating system of management which gave every member an absolutely equal opportunity for leadership. In such a system a new Management Committee was elected each month, and the only concession to the principle of continuity was made in the provision that only half the committee members be elected at one time. Nor was the re-election a second time permitted . . . until all the collective's members had served once on the management board.¹⁶

By 1935, nearly all the management committees were elected for a year (today it is usually for at least two years) and the aversion to reelecting members of the management boards is now much weaker than it was, according to Revusky. He also points out that the power of the committees has been increased and important decisions are no longer dependent on the vote of a general membership meeting as they were formerly. He goes on to state that most management committees elect a "concentrator," which is the democratic synonym for the traditionally unpopular "manager."¹⁷

Schwartz states:

In the early *kvutza*, in line with a strict equalitarian philosophy, the secretary and the treasurer were elected for short non-renewable terms. Practical application of this rule was beset with

¹⁴ Yissakhar, *op. cit.*, No. 8, p. 2.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 8, p. 3.

¹⁶ Revusky, *op. cit.*, pp. 129-130.

¹⁷ Revusky, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

difficulties and now the officers are usually elected for two-year terms and may be re-elected.¹⁸

Consecutive terms seem to be becoming more and more common in these offices, as well as in the administrative, social, and cultural committees; this is rationalized in terms of efficiency. Although there are no definite figures to confirm it, the opinion of several persons who have had intimate contact with the collectives supports the conclusion that, within any one collective, most of the administrative offices and committee positions have been held by a small core of the membership.¹⁹ However, as pointed out by Wolfman, the authority which this leadership holds lies primarily in the ability of the leaders to command respect of the membership by example and by carrying out the aims of the collective. He states:

The leader is seen while at work with the group and everything that he does is acceptable to the members. The leader has no ruling power and to all practical purposes no means of coercion, nevertheless his authority is great. The boys (of the youth groups) listen to him willingly because he fulfills their aims. When an adult member of a *kibbutz* or a *kvutza* becomes a leader, his words carry special weight, the weight of truth, reality, and fulfillment.²⁰

Another clue which indicates the formation of an elite within the collective communities is given in *Kibbutz Buchenwald*:

After this period of working together, it has become apparent that not everyone who was attracted to the *kibbutz* is fully adapted to the building of a real communal life. So a group has been formed within the *kibbutz* which calls itself the Activists. The Activists must be the kernel of the *kibbutz*, harder,

healthier than the rest. The job of every active member is to work for the development of discipline as well as comradeship. He must always have the commune rather than himself in mind.²¹

This formation, within the community, of a clique having the functional role of providing the community with leadership and the means for greater social control through discipline seems to be indicative of the beginning of a hierarchical system.

Job specialization seems to be another factor which is contributing to the development of occupational stratification. Efroymsen relates that "in the beginning workers were shifted from one job to another in accord with extreme equalitarian ideals, but more recently they seem to stick to a particular task."²² To this Schwartz adds:

Despite the *Kvutza's* aversion to the creation of social groups, it realizes that expertness and proficiency are by-products of practice in many occupations; therefore such jobs as the smith, dairyman, poultryman, teacher, etc. are given out, as it were, on a long-term lease and the developed experts in these fields are not often switched.²³

Samuel²⁴ also notes this trend toward the use of permanent specialists for much of the farm work. The specialist jobs in agriculture are given high value by the members of the collective, and the persons who hold these occupations are held in high regard by the rest of the membership.

Another factor which leads to occupational stratification has been the development of small-scale manufacturing as a subsidiary to agriculture. Originally, manufacturing was used by the collectives to provide occupations for the members during slack periods

¹⁸ Eli Schwartz, "Communal Settlements in Palestine," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, IX (2), pp. 191-203.

¹⁹ This opinion was expressed to the writer in personal conversations with several persons who had been participants in Israeli collectives.

²⁰ Benjamin Wolfman, "The Social Development of Israeli Youth," *Jewish Social Studies*, XI (1949), p. 354.

²¹ Meyer Levin (ed.), *Kibbutz Buchenwald* (Tel-Aviv: Lion the Printer, 1946), p. 38.

²² Efroymsen, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

²³ Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 194.

²⁴ Edwin Samuel, *Handbook of the Jewish Communal Villages in Palestine* (Jerusalem: The Zionist Organization Youth Department, 1945), p. 22.

in agriculture. Thereby, they had hoped to avoid using hired labor during the harvest and other seasons when extra labor would be needed. Soon, however, the factory became so important to the economy of the collective that the unit could not spare its workers to help in agriculture. Thus there came to be a differentiation between the farm workers and the factory workers. Because of the high value placed on agricultural occupations, the factory work is held in somewhat less regard, and another step is added to the occupational hierarchy. It must be pointed out, however, that the stratification in this aspect does not seem very great. As manufacturing becomes more and more important within the collective economy, these positions may be equated or even reversed. More important will be the tendency in all manufacturing toward an increasing job specialization and a growing need for management positions. These two factors will lead toward further stratification as the importance of manufacturing in the collectives increases.

Because of the tremendous shortage of labor during World War II, *Kibbutz Hameuchad*, the largest of the organizations of *kibbutzim* and the one in which manufacturing and handicraft work have made the most progress, had to abandon one of the basic social principles of the collectives—the ban on hired labor. After the war, however, the ban was reestablished; yet today it remains one of the most pressing economic and social problems of the collectives. Yissakhar sums up the problem as follows:

With the severance of the country from the sources of its imports during the Second World War, the *kibbutzim* found themselves in the unusual position of being able to command high prices for their products, to pay off entire loans and to lay the basis for a great economic expansion. During this period we witnessed the beginning of a sizeable *kibbutz* industry added to its agricultural foundations. This development brought

with it a growing need for more workers. The *kibbutz* had no alternative but to give up its new economic enterprises or else to abrogate one of its most basic principles by the employment of hired labour. The sources of this type of labour were made highly accessible by the tremendous influx of the new immigrants at the beginning of statehood . . .

Even with the fullest possible mechanization of agriculture, the number of working hands saved for these new industries could not meet their growing requirements. The end of our War of Liberation saw a further sharpening of this problem, as most of the *kibbutzim* had acquired large additions to their land holdings, thus posing the problem of labour shortage in an even more severe form.

Despite the fact that the conference of the *Kibbutz Hameuchad*, and for that matter the conferences of the other federations, condemned the practice of hired labour and took the firm decisions to eliminate it completely, the economic problem still stands. . . . The only alternative to hired labour in the *kibbutz* is to expand its membership, thereby altering its social framework.²⁵

THE POSITION OF YOUTH

It is apparent from the above discussion that, regardless of the choice of socio-economic alternatives taken by the collectives, one of the resulting consequences will be an increasing social stratification of the society. Even among the mobile labor force there is a social differentiation, since this group includes two elements which essentially are not a part of the collective community, but are auxiliary groups. Some critics, including Arnold,²⁶ consider the latter exploited groups. These are the trainees and the groups of the Youth Movement. The former are made up of people who wish to join the collective, or who plan to set up their own collective community. The latter are groups of idealistic teen-agers, from the cities and sometimes from foreign

²⁵ Yissakhar, *op. cit.*, No. 12, pp. 2-3.

²⁶ Paula Arnold, "Problems of the Israel Commune," *The Contemporary Review*, No. 1019 (Nov., 1950), p. 277.

lands, who form work-groups to help the collectives during the heavy work season. Neither group has a political voice in the community, and there are many social differences between them and the established membership. Some of the problems that arise from the differences between these young people and the older members are described by Feuer:

A curious kind of conservatism is . . . developing in the communal settlements which sometimes provokes a conflict of generations. When the *kibbutzim* were founded, many were boldly experimental . . . with maturity a specific mode of *kibbutz* conventionality has arisen. This led in one case to amusing controversies between the established members and the *gareen* (youths) in training. "Yes," said the older women, "it's alright for the girls to wear shorts, but they should put rubber bands about them so that they do not hang loosely around the thighs. Also they should wear shorts different from those of men." The big pockets of the girls' shorts aroused the especial ire of their elders; they seemed somehow too suggestive, too masculine, or too inviting. It was intimated that sweaters should not give such prominence to the breasts and that their colors should not be calculated to attract attention. The *kibbutz* newspapers devoted several columns and cartoons to ridicule of the newcomers' ways.

The male members likewise had their troubles with the agrarian traditionalism of the *kibbutz*. They would suggest more efficient methods of ditch-digging, easier ways of working with barbed wire; they proposed such innovations as D.D.T. in the tents. But the old-timers were quite content with the way things were done and were reluctant to entertain suggestions from the fledgelings.²⁷

Amusing as the controversies may seem, they illustrate two criteria on which social differentiation has been developing in the collectives—in one instance, the social inequality between the established members and these auxiliary groups, and secondly, social inequality on the basis of age; for the established members were in their late

thirties or forties, the young people in their late teens and twenties.

This stratification on the basis of age is seen within the established community, also. Revusky notes that the older members, the founders of the collectives, " . . . enjoy a certain moral authority, and . . . have in practice a decided influence in communal affairs."²⁸

Part of the cause of this developing social distance between the young people of the community and the older members can be seen in the entirely different settings in which the two groups were brought up. The young people suffered none of the deprivation and persecution that their parents endured; nor did they have to pioneer to create their social setting. As Aisenstadt points out:

For this generation the settlement is not an independent act of social creation, but rather the very social reality in which it has been brought up. Many of the fundamental values which motivated the first generation of colonists and which were elevated by them to the rank of basic principles of life . . . are, for the younger generation, no more than the natural social reality in which they have been reared.²⁹

The outlook on life of the two generations is highly colored by the difference in background, and there is at times lack of social communication between them because of this. The older generation fears that the way of life for which they fought so hard will come to be taken for granted and in due time will be lost. Weinryb seems to sum up the problem:

The youth lack the deep emotional feeling toward labor and the heartfelt ambition to do it with absolute perfection which were characteristic of the first generation. They do not feel, as did the first generation, that labor itself is a great achievement and a goal to strive for. . . .

For the first generation collective life . . . represented the solutions to the prob-

²⁷ Feuer, *op. cit.*, p. 501.

²⁸ Revusky, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

²⁹ Aisenstadt, *op. cit.*, p. 16.

lems of life and society. It was only reached after great efforts and as a result of a protest against the then existing conditions. . . . The first generation realized its ideals by means of spiritual and emotional efforts and by relinquishment of many of the pleasures of life, but the second generation feels at home in the collective, which is its home. The problem here is to create a condition wherein the collective life will not merely constitute something to be taken for granted, but rather a society to strive for and an ideal whose search should accompany the child at every moment.³⁰

OTHER INDICATIONS OF STRATIFICATION

World War II accented one of the most important social changes within the *kibbutz* structure, a change which borders on the question of social differentiation. Yissakhar points out this change:

The *Kibbutz* Movement has passed from the stage of general communalisation of all possessions to the principle of equalitarianism in distributing the products of communal labour. In this sense a certain qualitative change is taking place which is only now being acknowledged. . . . In the case of the larger *kibbutzim* where organic controls are not so easy, problems have arisen about the question of equalitarianism. Some interesting experiments calculated to give the individual more freedom of choice regarding the manner in which communal needs are to be distributed, have been made in certain *kibbutzim*. . . .

To find a *kibbutz* today which still insists upon full communalisation of clothing and strict control of every detail of personal needs, is rare and something of an anachronism.³¹

Efroymsen sees the inconveniences of domestic accommodation and the need for privacy as an increasing problem with the advancing years of the membership. He also points out that some of the recent controversies "centered about marking of clothing with individual names instead of distribution from the laundry to the first comer

and retention in 'homes' of radios and books—which may be gifts from outsiders instead of circulation or assemblage in the library."³²

Arnold shows concern with another aspect of this problem:

In most communes the visitor, especially if he has known them in the old days, is amazed at the pretty dresses of the women and luxuriously furnished rooms. . . . This concession is not one to be deplored, however, as it is the same for all. A far more serious matter is the tacit understanding that rooms may be furnished with help from presents from the outside. . . . This concession leads to jealousy and inequality as the leaders know very well, and that it is being allowed shows that strong pressure must have been brought to bear on the community.³³

It is the general consensus of most of the observers that individualism is making greater inroads into the thinking of the collectives, and this is resulting in a change in the social structure. As the differentiation between members increases, the tendency will more and more be to form social groups centered around similar values and attitudes, and with such groupings it is probable there will develop more definite forms of stratification. Yissakhar summarizes the effect of this development:

Whether in an ideological sense or not, it is generally being realized that the social intimacy of the entire community in the small settlement is being replaced by the social intimacy of small groups within the larger community. The *kibbutz* has become a real village where crystallized forms of life have developed, industrial branches have grown, activities have become decentralized by special committees, and in which the members have settled down in a more definite family form. . . .

This does not mean that the *kibbutz* is losing its fundamental collective basis. It is simply reflective of the fact that it has passed the stage of its earlier nuclear form and is taking shape as a settled community.³⁴

³⁰ B. Weinryb, "The Occupational Structure of the Second Generation Jews in Palestine," *Jewish Social Studies*, II (1940), p. 292.

³¹ Yissakhar, *op. cit.*, No. 7, pp. 2-3.

³² Efroymsen, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

³³ Arnold, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

³⁴ Yissakhar, *op. cit.*, No. 12, p. 3.

CONCLUSIONS

All of the above points toward an increasing stratification within the collective communities. Class-like characteristics have begun to develop. There are some characteristics of occupational class, some of prestige class. However, there is no indication of anything like a "snob" class differentiation. But one must be careful in stating that a class system has developed. First of all, members of higher occupational and prestige strata receive no economic return for their position. There is no evidence that the children of the upper stratum in any way benefit by their parents' position. All positions seem to be dependent on the achievement of the individual. If this is a class system, it is a wide-open one with almost complete social mobility. However, certain crystallizations of the strata are taking place. If the stratification continues to develop in the same way, the barriers between the strata will probably become more rigid. On the other hand, if the society stabilizes at its present state of social development, the goal of social justice and equality which the collectives place so high can still be retained, with only minor modification of some of the more idealistic aims.

It would seem that the leaders of the collectives are making every effort to maintain as much of the old idealism as possible. Where changes of social relationship which they consider detrimental to the goals of the collectives have taken place, they have been making every effort to correct them. For

instance, they continue to try to activate the women to more participation in the communal leadership. However, they have made no attempt to return to the mechanical concept of equality which would require all women to participate fully in all the heavy work of the community, for some of which they are not biologically fitted. Similarly, they have tried to bring more and more of the membership into functional responsibility in the community, but they have abandoned the impractical method of short-period rotation of all leadership positions and the practice of leaving all major decisions up to the general membership meetings. The collectives have shown the flexibility to be able to adjust to changing social conditions and yet to retain broad idealistic goals. This very ability may promise a more secure future for the Israeli collectives than has been the fate of so many of the Utopian experiments in collective life that have dotted the pages of the history of Western civilization. Many of the failures of these Utopian collectives have been due to an inability to make social adjustments with the changing social conditions, or to losing sight of the goals for which they were founded.

The growth of stratification in these collective communities is further evidence of the functional necessity of social stratification in society. Their success in the future may also give evidence of the minimal amount of stratification which need exist in order that a society maintain a stable social organization.

CHANGES IN FAMILY PERSONNEL, OCCUPATIONAL STATUS, AND HOUSING OCCURRING OVER THE FARM FAMILY'S LIFE CYCLE*

by May L. Cowles†

ABSTRACT

In a study of 81 completed Wisconsin farm families the household personnel was compared year by year of marriage with the occupational progress of the husband and the character of the family's housing. The number of persons in the household increased regularly to a peak at the twentieth year of marriage, and then declined to the end of the period of observation. Household members other than husband, wife, and their children were present at all periods of the family's lifetime, but were fewest when household size was at its peak.

Farm ownership increased steadily over the years of marriage, with proportionate decline in farm tenancy and nonfarm employment. On the average, the farm was not all paid for until the third decade of marriage, but this was dependent more on the prosperity of the times than on the period of the family's lifetime. The greatest degree of mobility appeared during the first two decades of marriage.

Space adequacy of the house was least during the period of largest household size. Few modern conveniences were found in the houses lived in, in the early years of marriage; but the number of such conveniences increased with the years, especially after the farm was paid for.

The most stringent period of the family cycle was during the middle years—with the family at or near its peak size, the farm usually not yet paid for, and the adequacy of housing space at its lowest.

Previous studies of the life cycle of the farm family have been concerned primarily with differences in the size and personnel of the family at the various stages of its lifetime. The present study recognizes these differences, and gives some further information regarding them. In addition, it is concerned with other phenomena associated with the farm family's life cycle: first, shift in the family's economic situation as indicated by the occupational history of the husband and by progress from

tenancy to farm ownership; and second, changes in the family's housing as shifts occur in family personnel and in occupational status.

METHOD

The method used involved study of the history of families from the time of marriage, rather than studying a cross-section of families at a given time, as is more commonly done. With the cross-section method, by grouping families who are at the same period of the cycle, the characteristics of the successive phases of the family's lifetime can be examined. This method was used by Paul Glick¹ in his analysis of United States census data, and by earlier workers.²

¹Paul C. Glick, "The Family Cycle," *American Sociological Review*, XII (Apr., 1947), 164-174.

²For a discussion of these earlier studies and of the methods used in analysis of the family's life cycle, see Charles P. Loomis, *Studies of Rural Social Organization in the United States, Latin America and Germany* (East Lansing, Mich.: State College Book Store, 1945), chaps. IX and X.

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In the less frequently used historical approach, which was chosen for the present study, the history of a family is traced from its beginning at marriage, to get a picture of various phenomena as they evolve over the family's lifetime. This approach was used in studying the life history of 81 rural farm families in two Wisconsin counties.

The two counties selected were in contrast as to various factors significant in determining economic status. One was in the lowest and the other in the highest quartile of the counties of the state as to percentage of farm tenancy, gross income per farm, value of farm land and buildings per farm, and percentage of farm acreage available for cropland.³ Within each county, a sample of one hundred families, stratified on the basis of age of farm operators and tenure, was selected.⁴

³ *Wisconsin Agriculture*, Wisconsin Crop and Livestock Reporting Service Bull. 243, Wisconsin State Dept. of Agr., Madison (1944), pp. 20 and 26-27.

⁴ To set up the sample, the distribution of all Wisconsin farm operators according to tenure and age group was secured from the 1945 U. S. Census of Agriculture, Part 7. Twelve cells were set up for each of the two counties, showing the numbers of owners and tenants expected in each of six age groups.

After the two counties had been selected, the names of the school districts within each county were arrayed in a random order secured by drawing numbers. The location of all families within the first district on the list was plotted on a large-scale map and a route from farm to farm was established, beginning at the northeast corner and following the procedure used in numbering the sections of a township. Every second or third family along the route was visited, the proportion varying as necessary to yield approximately 20 families from the district. If the family did not yield a schedule (because it was not a farm family, or because no one was at home after a third visit, for example), the family next in order on the map was visited. This procedure was followed, district by district, until the 24 cells established by the stratification were filled. The actual number secured in each cell showed close coincidence

Interviews were conducted by a field worker during 1947 or 1948 and data were secured from the wife, or from the husband and wife together. From the sample of 200 families, 81 were assumed to be completed families and hence would have passed through a significant number of phases of the life cycle. The assumption was that, if the wife had reached the age of 45 years or older, no more children would be born to the family. This did not preclude changes in household membership due to factors other than births—such as deaths, children leaving home, or the coming or going of relatives, hired men, or roomers.

With the exception of six households, in which the husbands had died, all the families included both husband and wife at the time of the interview. The last phase of the life cycle, which concludes with the death of one or both of the two family heads, was therefore incompletely observed. Some of the farmers had previously engaged in nonfarm work of some sort, usually for short periods of time and in the earlier phases of the family's lifetime. Engaging in work other than farming would appear to be a part of the occupational history of a significant number of farmers; hence it was believed that such families should be included in the study.

Since the age of the homemaker rather than the number of years married was the basis for selecting the 81 families, the number of years of marriage was not the same for the entire group. Consequently the number of cases decreased as the number of years of marriage increased. In only three instances had the couple been married for 50 or more years, and the number who had been married for 40 or more years was small.

with the expected number, except for two cells, both in the 25- to 34-year age group, which showed a marked divergence from the expected number.

HOUSEHOLD SIZE AND COMPOSITION

A phenomenon associated with the family's history from its establishment to the time of its breaking up is expansion and contraction of household size. The major changes in numbers come from the birth of children, their departure from home, and the death of family members. In addition to the two-generation family of husband, wife, and their children, a variable number of other persons may be present in the household over the years. In the present study these were usually relatives, but, if housed with the family, non-relatives such as hired workers and roomers were also included.

Expansion. From the first to the twentieth or peak year, both family and household size increased regularly (Figure 1). The increase was due almost entirely to birth of children, since the number of persons other than the two-generation family was nearly stable throughout this period. After the twentieth year, family and household size showed a decided, though somewhat irregular, decline to the end of the years observed.

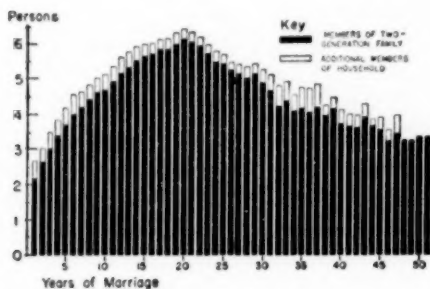


FIGURE 1. AVERAGE SIZE OF FAMILY AND OF HOUSEHOLD, AT SUCCESSIVE YEARS OF MARRIAGE

Usually the first child was born during the second year of marriage or the latter part of the first year. This was true in 56.9 per cent of the families that had children. Only 4.2 per cent re-

ported the birth of a first child after the fifth year of marriage.

The last child was born during the fifteenth year of marriage, on the average—a span of 14 years between the birth of the first and the last child. However, in one-third of the families, the last child was born before the twelfth year of marriage, and in over one-third during the eighteenth year or later. One-ninth of the families having children reported the last child born in the twenty-fourth year after marriage, or later. The household included at least one child 16 years of age or younger for an average period of 22.6 years.

The average number of children born to the 81 families was 4.37. This included children who died at birth or in infancy, though it was believed that in a few cases the family failed to report these children to the interviewer. Nine of the 81 families had had no children; in two of these, marriage had occurred late in life. More families had had three or four children than any other number. (See Table 1 and Figure 2.) Seven or more children were born to about a fourth of the completed families studied; two families had 13 children each.

TABLE 1. DISTRIBUTION OF 81 COMPLETED FARM FAMILIES, BY NUMBER OF CHILDREN EVER BORN

Number of children	Number of families	Percentage of families
None	9	11.1
1 or 2	15	18.6
3 or 4	23	28.4
5 or 6	14	17.3
7 or 8	9	11.1
9 or 10	7	8.6
11 or more ..	4	4.9
Total . . .	81	100.0

Peak Size. While the 81 families took, on the average, 20 years to reach their maximum size, nearly a third of them

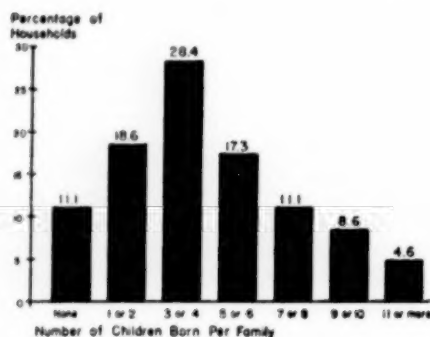


FIGURE 2. CHILDREN BORN PER FAMILY

reached their peak during the first 9 years of marriage, and about a seventh reached it from 21 to 32 years after marriage. The average number of persons per household for the 81 households when at their greatest size was 7.0—2 of whom were the husband and wife, 4.2 children, and .8 other persons, usually relatives. Over a third of the households included 8 or more persons when at the maximum size, and about a fifth from 10 to 13 persons. Only about a twelfth had a maximum size of two or three members; this included most of the childless families.

Ordinarily the household maintained its maximum size a relatively short period of time—less than 5 years for 40.7 per cent of the families. In general, the household with a small maximum changed its personnel slowly and thus held its peak size for a long period of time. The families whose greatest size was two or three persons held their peak size for an average of 17 years. Where the maximum size was four or five persons, the peak was held for 11.1 years. When the maximum was 6 or 7 persons, 8 or 9 persons, 10 or 11 persons, or 12 or 13 persons, the peak size was held 6.2 years, 5.7 years, 4.7 years, and 2.8 years, respectively. This is apparent from Figure 3, in which the duration of the peak in years is shown for each level of maximum household size.

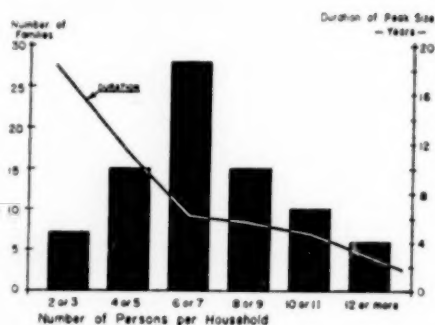


FIGURE 3. HOUSEHOLD SIZE AT PEAK, AND DURATION OF PEAK SIZE

Decline. Following the attainment of the maximum, both family and household size tended to decline during the succeeding decades. The first child left home on the average during the twenty-second year after marriage, though in one family the first child left during the eleventh year. In 50 per cent of the cases, marriage was the reason for leaving. In 23.8 per cent of the families, taking up some form of employment was the cause; in 14.3 per cent, entering military service; in 6.0 per cent, going away to school. The remainder, 5.9 per cent, left home for a variety of reasons, such as going to live with other relatives, or transferring to an institution of some kind. In part because of the earlier age of marriage of daughters, and in part because many more girls than boys left home to seek employment, a daughter was the first child to leave in 60.7 per cent of the families.

"Outsiders" in the Household. During the period of maximum size of the household, from the fifteenth to the twenty-seventh year on the average, the number of persons other than the two-generation family tended to be at a minimum. During these peak years, the number of outsiders was limited in many cases by lack of housing facilities and by the fact that hired farm workers were unnecessary, since there were

children old enough to help. Undoubtedly, too, the size of the family in relation to the size of the income was a deterrent to inclusion of other relatives in the household if they had to be supported from the family purse. Even during the years of greatest family load, however, half of the 81 households included an outsider for at least part of the time.

After the family size had declined from its peak, the number of persons in addition to the two-generation family group increased to its maximum. This point was reached during the fourth decade of marriage—from the thirtieth to the thirty-ninth years. With the children leaving home, the family size had decreased so that extra housing space was often available; parents of the husband or wife, if still alive, were advanced in age and perhaps in need of care. Elderly fathers were living with their sons or daughters more frequently than were elderly mothers, probably because these fathers often had some equity in the farm, and because of the opportunity for part-time employment offered by farm chores. In some cases, the number of outsiders was increased by the return of sons or daughters accompanied by their spouses and children.

The children still living with the parents or parent at the end of the observed period were predominantly males. This was traceable in most cases to the fact that the son succeeded or aided the father as the farm operator and stayed on in the parental home. Vocational opportunity for females was almost completely lacking in rural areas, so that daughters tended more frequently than sons to leave home permanently. Thus, in spite of the fact that 6 of the husbands but none of the 81 wives had died, and although a number of wives of sons were included in the households, the ratio in the declining years of the family cycle was 125 males to 100 females.

OCCUPATIONAL HISTORY

In all of the 81 households studied, the breadwinner was engaged in farming at the time the information was gathered. However, the husbands in many of the families had engaged in various other occupations besides farming over the years since marriage.⁵ Since for most of them the achievement of farm ownership was apparently a major objective, nonfarm occupations were ordinarily followed in the earlier years of marriage rather than later. During the first year of married life, over a fourth of the 81 husbands were engaged in some type of nonfarm work, usually in a factory or some other business enterprise. A few were employed as hired men or were working on the home farm of the parents of husband or wife. The remaining two-thirds were divided between farm owners and farm tenants, the latter being slightly more numerous.⁶

By the tenth year after marriage, the status of working as hired men or on the parental farm had dropped out of the picture completely. Farm tenancy had decreased somewhat, with less than a third (30.8 per cent) of the men renting farms, while nonfarm work occupied 14.1 per cent. Farm ownership had shown great increase by the tenth year, when 55.1 per cent of the husbands had started to own farms. Thereafter, at the twentieth and thirtieth years after marriage, successively smaller proportions were farm tenants or nonfarm wage earners and larger

⁵ This refers to full-time occupations yielding the major part of the family's income, and not to occasional off-farm jobs taken by the farmer during a slack time to supplement the income from the farm. Usually the family lived in a village or city while employed in the nonfarm occupation.

⁶ Throughout the report, the term *farm owner* indicates merely that the person had started to own a farm, without regard to degree of equity reached. If additional acres were rented, the operator was still classed as an owner.

proportions were farm owners. At the thirtieth year only 2.2 per cent were nonfarm workers and 13.0 per cent were farm tenants, while 84.8 per cent were owners. All of the families from whom information covering 40 or 50 years was secured had become owners of farms by the time the fortieth year was reached. This progress is shown graphically in Figure 4.

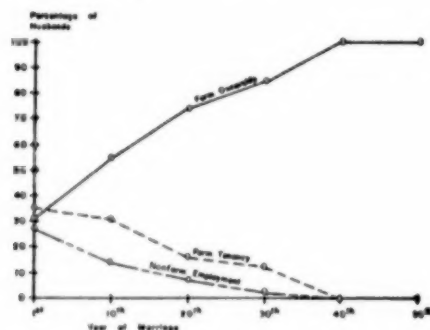


FIGURE 4. OCCUPATIONAL STATUS OF HUSBANDS AT SUCCESSIVE STAGES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

Farm Purchase. Farm purchase was begun during the eighth year of marriage, on the average. Of the 69 men who were farm owners, 44 (63.8 per cent) had started to buy during the first nine years of marriage. During the tenth through the nineteenth years, 23 others (33.3 per cent) had begun purchase, while only 2 of those becoming owners started to buy during the twentieth year of marriage or later. Of the men afterward becoming farm owners, 31 (44.9 per cent) had at some time been tenant farmers. Only one of these had been a hired man since his marriage.

Beginning farm ownership did not mean that the farm was paid for. Information on this point was secured from the family, and in addition the data were checked with the county mortgage records. About two-fifths of the farmers from whom information on

payments was secured had completed their payments. On the average for the families whose farms were mortgage-free, the final payment was made during the twenty-ninth year. Nearly a fifth of those whose final payments were made had completed these during the first two decades of married life. The remaining four-fifths were about evenly distributed over the later years of marriage. As might be expected, making final payments on the farm was found to be more closely related to the degree of prosperity of the times than to the period of the life cycle. Few families reported completion of payments during the depression period of the 1930's unless the farm were bought by payment of back taxes, while large numbers made the final payment on the mortgage during the high price period of the 1940's.

Mobility. The extent of mobility displayed by the group of 81 families was undoubtedly affected by the fact that farm ownership, ordinarily connoting stability in location, was ultimately achieved by the majority of the families. Altogether the number of jobs in which the 81 men had engaged since marriage was 252, or 3.1 per man.⁷ Over a fifth of the men (21.0 per cent) had not changed jobs during the entire family lifetime studied. However, 18.5 per cent of them had held 5 or more jobs since marriage; one man had moved from job to job, and had held a total of 12 since marriage.

In the earlier phases of the family's life cycle, a considerable amount of moving took place. A large proportion of moving was done during the first ten years of marriage when 149 (59.1 per cent) of the 252 jobs were held. A little over a fourth of the total moves came during the second decade. After the nineteenth year, however, when a

⁷ The shift from farm tenancy to farm ownership, even if it involved no change in location, was counted as a separate job.

large proportion of families had begun to buy farms, only 34 moves were made.

STAGES IN HOUSING HISTORY

During the different stages of the family's history, as the household size expanded and contracted and as the family progressed toward farm ownership, certain patterns of change in housing appeared.

Space Adequacy. Unless the dwelling size shifted as the household size changed, the relation between the number to be housed and the space available to take care of them might be expected to differ at the various life cycle stages. The adequacy of the housing space to care for the housing load at various periods of the life cycle was measured by the coefficient of density, or the persons per major room.⁸

A quite definite relationship appeared between the stage of the family cycle and the space adequacy of the dwelling (see Figure 5). During the first years of marriage, when the family and household were small, the dwelling unit was usually smaller—measured by number of rooms—than at any other stage.⁹ However, housing space dur-

ing the first year was adequate for 80.3 per cent of the families, as indicated by a coefficient of density of 1.0 or less. As the family grew larger, the dwelling unit size also increased, but in many cases the coefficient of density went up, since the number of persons housed exceeded the number of rooms in the dwelling. In consequence, by the tenth year of marriage the percentage of families having adequate space had dropped to 63.1. In the later years, the family diminished and the dwelling unit was unchanged in size, or was enlarged by building a new house or remodeling the old. Thus the proportion of families having space adequacy, as shown by a low coefficient of density, increased during the later years of marriage. This appears quite clearly in Figure 5.

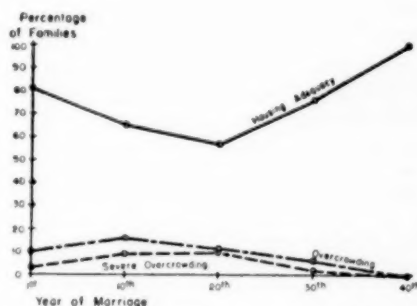


FIGURE 5. PROPORTIONS OF FAMILIES WITH ADEQUATE HOUSING SPACE, CROWDING, OR SEVERE OVERCROWDING, AT SUCCESSIVE STAGES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

⁸ The coefficient of density is calculated by dividing the number of persons residing in a dwelling unit by the number of major rooms in it. While it is recognized that other factors such as size of rooms and their utilization are equally important in determining adequacy, the coefficient of density is frequently used as a crude means of evaluating the space in which the family lives. In the present study the following evaluation scale was used:

Coefficient of 1.0 or less	space adequacy
" " 1.01 to 1.5	crowding
" " 1.51 to 2.0	overcrowding
" " 2.01 or more	severe overcrowding

⁹ The average number of rooms per dwelling unit during the first year of marriage was 5.0. This number had changed to 5.8, 6.3, 6.5, 6.8, and 6.3 at the tenth, twentieth, thirtieth, fortieth, and fiftieth years of marriage, successively.

Severe overcrowding, as indicated by a coefficient of 2.01 or more, appeared most frequently during the middle years. During the first year, only 2.6 per cent of the households had serious overcrowding. At the tenth year, the percentage had increased to 7.9, and at the twentieth—when the family size was largest—it reached its peak with 10.7 per cent of families having more than two persons per room. Some cases of overcrowding occurring at or near

the end of the second decade were: 4 persons living in one room, 11 persons in two rooms, 7 persons in three rooms, 8 persons in three rooms, and 10 persons in four rooms. The most extreme case was that of a family of 10 who, at the end of the third decade of marriage, were living in one room. Severe overcrowding dropped, however, in the later years, disappearing entirely by the fortieth year of marriage.

Modern Conveniences. Apparently an objective of most farm families was the attainment of a completely modern house.¹⁰ In the mind of the housewife at least, this usually was second only to the desire for unencumbered farm ownership. In general, the families started marriage in houses poorly equipped as to modern utilities (Table 2). Nearly two-thirds of them had none of the six facilities¹¹ on which a check was made; only about an eighth lived in a house completely modern. The kitchen sink, which was found in 30.9 per cent of the houses lived in

during the first year, appeared more frequently than any other convenience; but, since only 16.2 per cent of these houses had running water, about half of the sinks were without water. About a fifth of the houses in which the 81 families lived during the first year had electricity.¹²

As the years went on, the housing improved, as is apparent on examina-

¹² Since it was possible that lack of utilities in the early years of marriage was a product of the times in which the family lived rather than the period of the family cycle, the housing data for the first year of marriage for the 81 completed families were compared with data on the 56 young families married during the period 1940-1948 in the original sample of 200 families. A substantially greater proportion of the young families had electricity during their first year—60.7% as against 21.0% of the 81 families reported in this study. Running water, which could be secured by the use of electricity, was in 25.0% of the houses of the 56 younger families their first year, while 16.2% of the 81 older families had it at the same stage. However, only 8.9% of the younger group lived in completely modern houses during their first year of marriage, as compared with 12.3% of the completed families. It may be concluded that progress in extension of electricity throughout rural areas had made it possible for the 56 families formed during the 1940's to achieve certain housing facilities sooner in the family's lifetime than in the period 25 to 50 years earlier when the 81 completed families were being formed. However, there is also some evidence that families work up from a simple start to a greater degree of housing adequacy in terms of conveniences as the economic status changes.

¹⁰ There were exceptions to this. A number of families had become so accustomed to houses with no modern facilities that they evinced no desire for any improvement. Others, upon securing electricity or a kitchen sink after years without any conveniences, said that they were so much better off than they had ever been before that they desired nothing further.

¹¹ It was assumed that a house containing a kitchen sink, running water, central heat, electricity, and a bath with a flush toilet might be designated as completely modern.

TABLE 2. PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES WITH CERTAIN HOUSING FACILITIES AT SUCCESSIVE STAGES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

Facilities in house	Year of marriage				
	First	Tenth	Twentieth	Thirtieth	Fortieth
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Complete modern facilities....	12.3	12.8	15.8	17.4	14.3
No modern facilities.....	64.2	47.4	35.1	23.9	28.6
Kitchen sink.....	30.9	42.3	51.9	54.3	50.0
Running water.....	16.2	15.4	20.5	17.4	28.6
Electricity.....	21.0	26.9	40.3	54.3	57.1

tion of Figure 6 and Table 2. The percentage without modern facilities dropped; the proportion with electricity and the proportion with a kitchen sink rose. Completely modern houses also increased, but even at the fortieth year of marriage only one in seven of the families was living in a house with all six of the conveniences enumerated.

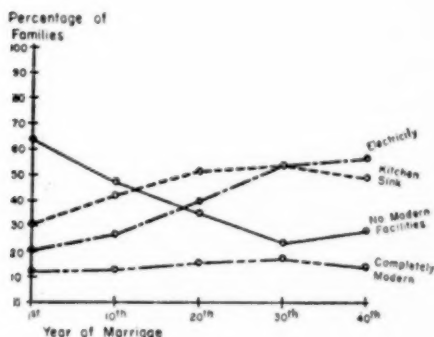


FIGURE 6. PROPORTIONS OF FAMILIES WITH SPECIFIED HOUSING FACILITIES, WITH NO MODERN FACILITIES, AND WITH ALL MODERN FACILITIES, AT SUCCESSIVE STAGES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

Relation of Farm Ownership to Housing. In urban families the attainment of home ownership is looked upon as an important milestone in the family's history. Glick has shown that it is related to the age of the family head, with increasing proportions owning their homes at successively greater ages.¹³ In the farm situation, home ownership cannot be dissociated from farm ownership, since the house is necessarily linked to the farm. Some relationships between the house as a part of farm ownership and the farm family's life cycle are apparent, however.

The greater mobility appearing during the earlier years of marriage and usually associated with tenancy or non-farm employment was reflected in the

number of houses in which the family had lived. The 81 families had lived in a total of 293 houses, or 3.6 per family, with an average residence in each house of 8.7 years. However, hired men or nonfarm workers moved frequently; 3.1 years and 3.5 years, respectively, were the average periods of residence per house for these two groups. Tenants averaged 6.1 years per house, while owners lived in each house an average of 13.8 years. Thus the earlier years, during which the family was increasing to its maximum size and was less secure economically, were marked by frequent moving from house to house.

In general, achievement of farm ownership was accompanied by a greater degree of space adequacy as indicated by a lower coefficient of density, associated with a slightly larger number of rooms. Frequently this lower coefficient, supposedly connoting a greater degree of adequacy as to space, was achieved because the children had left home and, in consequence, the family and household size had diminished. As is shown in Figure 5, space adequacy increased markedly in the later years of marriage when farm ownership was generally well established.

In a significant number of families (15 per cent of total owners), starting to buy a farm meant living in poorer housing conditions than before purchase. For these families the character of the house was evidently not a primary factor in determining the purchase of the farm. Probably the family accepted whatever house was offered with the farm and, since the use of resources for financing the farm and getting it on a paying basis was an immediate necessity, housing improvement was postponed. This may account for the late date at which many of the house conveniences were first secured in farm houses. It is possible, too, that the price of a farm with a poorer dwelling was less than that of a farm

¹³ Glick, *op. cit.*, p. 172.

with an improved house, so that a family could more readily finance the former.

The most important period of the family cycle in point of housing improvement for farm owners came in the period immediately following completion of payments on the farm mortgage. While this payment occurred on the average during the twenty-ninth marriage year, it was not related definitely to any one stage, as has been noted. Following completion of payment, however, some effort was typically made to enlarge or modernize the house, to remodel the kitchen, or to change the appearance of the house in some fashion.

INTERDEPENDENCE OF THE FACTORS STUDIED

The three factors studied—the household size and personnel, the family's occupational status, and its housing—display a considerable degree of interdependence, as they are viewed over the farm family's lifetime. Adequacy of the house is in part dependent upon the housing load—the family members and other persons to be housed in it. The improvement of the house by addition of utilities may be contingent on the stability and settling in one spot which farm ownership connotes. The financial load involved in paying for the farm may postpone such improvement until payment is completed. Improvement rarely is achieved before the household size has started to de-

crease, when the housing need in terms of space is declining.

During the earlier years of the farm family's lifetime, the family, small in size, usually lives in a house with few conveniences. The dwelling becomes less and less adequate as to space as the household increases. The husband of the family during this time is progressing from nonfarm wage earning or farm tenancy toward farm ownership. Associated with this shift in occupation is a considerable degree of mobility as the family moves from farm to farm or from city to farm.

In the middle years, the family is usually well embarked in farm ownership but still struggling to pay off the mortgage. The house has more conveniences than earlier, but is less adequate as to space since the household has increased to its peak size. Fewer persons other than the parents and their children are in the household than at any other time except during the last few years.

The later years are marked by a considerable degree of adequacy in housing, both as to space and as to conveniences. This is in part because farm ownership has typically been achieved, with the farm completely paid for. In part it is because the household is small, as it was in the early years of marriage; however, other persons besides the two-generation group are found in greatest numbers during these later years. More males than females appear in the farm household, especially at this later stage.

SUICIDE: AN INSTANCE OF HIGH RURAL RATES

by W. Widick Schroeder† and J. Allan Beegle††

ABSTRACT

Contrary to expectation, rural males in Michigan exhibit higher suicide rates than urban males. The study shows that this difference remains when the two populations are controlled for variations in age, sex, race, and nativity. The rural male suicide rate in Michigan was found to be higher than the urban male suicide rate for both native-born white and foreign-born white persons at almost all ages. While "farmers and farm managers" have a very high suicide rate in Michigan, the majority of "rural" males who commit suicide are engaged in urban occupations and reside in urbanized fringe areas. These findings are based upon analysis of 3,081 cases of suicide in Michigan between 1945 and 1949.

INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of suicide has attracted interest for centuries and has been observed in all contemporary societies as well as in many preliterate groups. Although there has been a marked increase in the number of suicides in industrialized, urbanized societies, suicides have been committed since the beginning of recorded history. Irrespective of trends, the phenomenon of suicide provides the social scientist with an opportunity for investigation of numerous problems concerning the interrelations, dynamics, and processes of interaction of the individual and society.

Although there are relatively few scientific works in the field, some sociologists have treated the problem at considerable length. Works by H. Morselli, Emile Durkheim, Ruth Cavan, and Louis I. Dublin and Bessie Bunzel are among the most important sociological works in English; the works of Gregory Zilboorg and Karl Menninger are noteworthy psychological studies. It would appear that the major contributions to the study of suicide have come from the fields of actuarial science (including sociological interpretation) and from psychoanalytical psychiatry. Unfortunately, there has been

little work attempting to interrelate the two areas.¹

¹ In the first category of suicide studies, see H. Morselli, *Suicide* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1882); Emile Durkheim, *Suicide*, translated by George Simpson (Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1951); Ruth Cavan, *Suicide* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1928); L. I. Dublin and B. Bunzel, *To Be or Not to Be* (New York: Smith and Haas, 1933); Maurice Halbwachs, *Les Causes du Suicide* (Paris: Librairie Felix Alcan, 1930); F. L. Hoffman, *Suicide Problems* (Newark: The Prudential Press, 1927); A. L. Porterfield, R. H. Talbert, and H. R. Mundkenke, *Crime, Suicide and Social Well-Being* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University, 1948); Calvin Schmid, *Suicides in Seattle, 1914 to 1925: An Ecological and Behavioristic Study* (Seattle: The University of Washington Press, 1928); C. P. Loomis in the United States Strategic Bombing Survey, *The Effects of Bombing on German Morale*, Volume II, 1946; and C. P. Loomis, *Studies of Applied and Theoretical Social Science* (East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1950), chaps. 21 and 22.

In the second category of suicide studies, see especially Karl A. Menninger, *Man Against Himself* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1938); Sigmund Freud, *Collected Papers*, Vol. IV (London: The Hogarth Press, 1949); Gregory Zilboorg, "Suicide Among Civilized and Primitive People," *The American Journal of Psychiatry*, XCII (1935-1936), 1347-69; E. Y. Williams, "Some Observations on the Psychological Aspects of Suicide," *The Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXXI (1935-36), 260-265; and Margarethe von Andics, *Suicide and the Meaning of Life* (London: William Hodge and Co., 1947).

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Since 1940, the suicide rates for the United States have declined. The primary factors contributing to this decline are twofold. First, the nation has been engaged in warfare, or prospective warfare, during most of the decade. It has been observed repeatedly that the suicide rate drops during periods of national crisis. Although the reason has not been definitely established, some have suggested that the feeling of unity and solidarity often characteristic of such a period decreases the intensity of personal problems, thus reducing the suicide rate.² The second factor affecting the suicide rate during this period has been the tremendous increase in the number of young persons in the population. It has been shown that suicide is primarily a function of middle and old age.³ The introduction of many children into a population, therefore, increases the size of the population base on which the crude death rate from suicide is computed, but it does not increase the number of suicides.

On the basis of previous studies, the following are among the important generalizations concerning suicide in the United States and Western Europe:

1. Suicides are more common among males than females; the ratio is usually two or three to one.
2. Suicide rates increase with age.
3. The suicide rate is higher in cities than in rural areas.
4. The suicide rate is higher among Protestants than among Catholics.
5. Suicide rates among Negroes are lower than among whites in the United States.
6. Suicide rates vary widely between countries and between sections of the same country.

² See Durkheim, *op. cit.*, and Dublin and Bunzel, *op. cit.*

³ See for example "Change in Rank of Leading Causes of Death," *Statistical Bulletin, Metropolitan Life Insurance Company*, Vol. 31, No. 6 (June, 1950).

PURPOSE OF STUDY, AND PROCEDURES USED

As a by-product of a general mortality study sponsored by the Michigan Agricultural Experiment Station,⁴ it was discovered that some of the previously stated generalizations were not true for Michigan; the most important of these concerned the rural-urban suicide differential: The rural rate was considerably higher than the urban rate.⁵ Heretofore, both empirical evidence and theoretical propositions have indicated that the reverse condition would be expected. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to present an analysis of suicides in Michigan and to suggest reasons for the observed reversal in suicide rates.

The data used in this study were collected from information available on the death certificates of suicides filed in the Bureau of Records and Statistics of the Michigan Department of Health, in Lansing. Data were collected for the years 1945 through 1949.⁶ These data were coded and punched on IBM cards and analyzed by machine methods. The death certificates contained the following information, some of which could not be utilized in this study: Place of occurrence, place of residence, age, sex, race, place of death, date of death, method used in committing suicide, length of stay in community prior to death, marital status, birthplace, birthplace of father, birthplace of mother, occupation, disposition of body on death, and, in the case of removals,

⁴ Paul M. Houser and J. Allan Beegle, *Mortality Differentials in Michigan* (East Lansing: Michigan AES Special Bulletin 367, Feb., 1951).

⁵ The census definition of rural and urban was used by the Department of Health in classifying death certificates by residence. Thus, rural suicides, as considered here, include persons residing on farms, in villages under 2,500 population, in fringe areas, and in other rural-nonfarm areas.

⁶ 3,081 cases of suicide in Michigan were examined.

the place to which the body was removed.⁷

In the analysis of the data for Michigan it is assumed that a statistical analysis of suicide data is meaningful. The authors do not agree with the contention of some workers that the data are too inadequate to merit credence.⁸ Undoubtedly, some cases of suicide have been concealed, and desired information is often lacking. It is felt, however, that while the data do not include all cases of suicide, the sample available, with some qualification, is fairly representative of the entire universe. Some selective factors may be at work which distort the data. For example, more suicides may be concealed among those in the higher socio-economic stratum, because of the greater concern for social approval which members of this class may feel. However, for most of the analyses which have been made, errors of this kind will not affect validity.

Suicide in Western countries is considered to be the result of personal disorganization. Thus, it is considered highly individualized and differs sharply from the institutionalized suicides of the Orient. Obviously the individualized suicide is the only type considered here, since the social milieu does not sanction the ritualistic suicide. Various factors which may contribute to personal disorganization were isolated and the suicide rates for various combinations of factors were determined. It is recognized that no absolute etiol-

ogy can result from a study of this kind, but it is felt that an indication of the conditions which foster suicidal tendencies will aid the worker who attempts to interrelate demographic and case history data. By utilizing the data concerning several variables, those kinds of conditions which tend to promote suicide may be inferred.

THE FINDINGS

Table 1 indicates the crude suicide rates for Michigan by residence and sex for the period under study, 1945-

TABLE 1. SUICIDE RATES BY RESIDENCE AND SEX, MICHIGAN, 1945-1949

Sex	Rate per 100,000		
	Total population	Urban population	Rural population
All	10.2	9.2	11.7
Male	14.7	12.6	22.0
Female	4.7	4.7	4.5

1949.⁹ The most striking condition shown in the table is that the suicide rate for rural male residents is almost twice as high as the rate for urban male residents. An examination of the rates by age, residence, and sex indicates a similar comparison for corre-

⁹ Population estimates were made from 1940 census data and preliminary 1950 census reports. In most cases, a linear interpolation between 1940 and 1950 data was made. Interpolations were checked against population estimates made by the Michigan Department of Health. Although the interpolations may have overestimated the rural-to-urban migration of males, thereby creating a spuriously high rural male suicide rate, the authors do not believe this to be the case, since higher rural suicide rates for males were observed in 1940 when enumeration data were available. In 1940, the age-adjusted suicide rate for males in Michigan was 31 per cent higher than the corresponding urban rate. For a detailed account of population estimate procedures, see W. Widick Schroeder, "Suicide Differentials in Michigan" (unpublished Master's thesis, Michigan State College, 1951), pp. 32-36.

⁷ Obviously a complete analysis of all of the data cannot be reported in this paper. The data have yielded extremely interesting hypotheses concerning migration *per se*, as well as factors responsible for varying rates of removal of the deceased for burial. The death certificates were incomplete in some cases. The data on length of stay in the community prior to death, for example, were so incomplete that it was impossible to make any statistical generalizations from them.

⁸ See for example Zilboorg, *op. cit.*

sponding age groups among males. (See Table 2.) Tables 3 and 4 give the suicide rates by age, sex, residence, and

TABLE 2. SUICIDE RATES BY RESIDENCE, SEX, AND AGE, MICHIGAN, 1945-1949

Age	Rate per 100,000			
	Rural population		Urban population	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
15-19.....	*0.0	†0.0	*0.0	†0.0
15-19.....	*5.3	*0.9	2.5	*0.7
20-24.....	*13.5	*3.1	6.6	3.8
25-29.....	19.2	*3.3	8.8	4.7
30-34.....	18.8	5.0	11.4	5.3
35-39.....	29.4	*4.5	15.1	6.8
40-44.....	29.3	6.2	17.8	8.0
45-49.....	20.9	10.0	19.2	8.8
50-54.....	21.8	14.2	22.7	10.2
55-59.....	47.7	10.0	29.7	14.3
60-64.....	43.0	11.9	32.7	10.3
65-69.....	60.6	*6.9	32.1	11.3
70-74.....	52.9	*14.3	32.4	11.1
75 and over.	47.9	*10.2	42.5	9.1

*Indicates rates based upon less than 20 suicides.
†No suicides.

TABLE 3. SUICIDE RATES OF NATIVE-BORN WHITES BY RESIDENCE, SEX, AND AGE, MICHIGAN, 1945-1949

Age	Rate per 100,000			
	Rural population		Urban population	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
15-19.....	*6.4	*1.4	2.9	*0.7
20-24.....	15.2	*3.1	7.2	4.7
25-29.....	19.6	*3.3	9.8	4.7
30-34.....	19.2	*4.7	12.9	5.8
35-39.....	30.2	*2.9	16.2	6.7
40-44.....	27.9	*6.0	18.9	7.7
45-49.....	21.6	8.5	18.8	8.0
50-54.....	20.3	13.8	18.4	10.6
55-59.....	45.4	*8.9	22.2	14.3
60-64.....	38.9	*13.1	23.9	11.6
65-69.....	50.4	*6.2	19.6	*10.3
70-74.....	46.7	*12.9	31.2	*9.1
75 and over.	41.4	*10.0	36.2	*8.0

*Indicates rates based upon less than 20 suicides.

nativity. From these data it is apparent that no hypothesis attributing the rural-urban differentials in Michigan to unique age, sex, or nativity conditions can be validated. The phenomenon is

TABLE 4. SUICIDE RATES OF FOREIGN-BORN POPULATION BY RESIDENCE, SEX, AND AGE, MICHIGAN, 1945-1949

Age	Rate per 100,000			
	Males		Females	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
15-19.....	†0.0	†0.0	†0.0	†0.0
20-24.....	†0.0	*5.0	†0.0	†0.0
25-29.....	†0.0	*13.3	†0.0	†0.0
30-34.....	*10.0	*15.0	*10.0	*9.4
35-39.....	*23.5	*18.5	*20.0	*9.7
40-44.....	*44.0	19.0	†13.3	11.3
45-49.....	*14.3	23.6	†12.0	11.3
50-54.....	*28.9	35.8	†14.0	*14.1
55-59.....	52.7	44.1	†11.1	*10.0
60-64.....	49.1	48.5		
65-69.....	80.0	64.7		
70-74.....	76.9	35.0		
75 and over.	67.4	56.4		

*Indicates rates based upon less than 20 suicides.
†No suicides.

a fact; contrary to *a priori* expectations, the rural suicide rate among males is higher than the urban suicide rate. For females, the evidence is inconclusive, since the rates are about equal.

Suicide rates by occupational class are given in Table 5. Unfortunately,

TABLE 5. SUICIDE RATES BY OCCUPATION AND SEX, MICHIGAN, 1945-1949

Occupation	Rate per 100,000	
	Males	Females**
Professional and semi-professional.....	16.2	4.6
Farmers and farm managers.....	53.6	*0.0
Proprietors, managers, and officials.....	18.8	*5.5
Clerical, sales, and kindred workers.....	13.9	3.6
Craftsmen, foremen, operatives, and kindred workers.....	15.9	*2.8
Service workers.....	30.5	4.5
Farm laborers.....	14.5	*0.0
Other laborers.....	23.2	*0.0

*Indicates rates based upon less than 20 suicides.

**Those classified as "housewives" have been omitted from this table.

the desired base population data for occupational groups are unavailable. The only information listed by the census is the number of males and females in the specified occupations. No age distribution information, which is essential for a meaningful suicide analysis, is available. However, if it is assumed that the age distribution for the several occupations is approximately the same, the rates may be of some value.

Farmers exhibit suicide rates which are almost twice as high as those of male service workers, who have the second highest rate. An examination of the age distribution of farmer-suicides revealed a higher percentage of suicides in the older age brackets than was the case for most other occupations. This situation should be considered in the light of two limitations of these data. First, the recorders who complete death certificates probably list more retired farmers as "farmers" than they list other retired workers by their occupations. Second, the occupation is easy to categorize; hence, it is probable that a higher percentage of those persons who engage in this occupation are properly classified.

Table 6 indicates the occupational distribution of white male suicides by residence. Of major interest is the fact that only 32 per cent of the rural white male suicides were farmers. Three per cent were listed as farm laborers. Thus, only about one-third were engaged in occupations directly related to rural life. Most of the remaining two-thirds of the rural white male suicides were engaged in occupations which are urban-oriented. Houser and Beegle have suggested that the high suicide rate of rural males is derived from the frustration and personal disorganization which have resulted from the conflict in rural and urban values. Their study showed "... that suicides in Michigan are concentrated in the agricultural counties of southern Michigan, in two counties of the Thumb area, in a cluster

TABLE 6. DISTRIBUTION OF WHITE MALE SUICIDES BY OCCUPATION, FOR RURAL AND URBAN AREAS, MICHIGAN, 1945-1949

Occupation	Percentage of all suicides in each area:	
	Rural	Urban
Professional and semiprofessional	*2.0	4.6
Farmers and farm managers	32.1	1.8
Proprietors, managers, and officials	5.4	7.4
Clerical, sales, and kindred workers	3.3	7.3
Craftsmen, foremen, operatives, and kindred workers	19.8	34.1
Service workers	2.7	8.0
Farm laborers	2.9	*0.2
Other laborers	7.0	4.0
Students	*1.1	*1.4
Not ascertainable	18.0	23.0
Retired	5.7	8.2
Total	100.0	100.0

*Less than 20 suicides in this group.

of western coastal counties in the middle part of the lower peninsula, and in the western half of the upper peninsula."¹⁰ They offer the hypothesis that the frustration and personal disorganization which have resulted from the conflict in the rural and urban values have been most severe among farmers whose rural way of life had been the most satisfying, and, consequently, the most idealized.¹¹

In the light of the foregoing occupational data, it would appear that this explanation of the high rural rate is only partial. These data would suggest that not only has the farmer experienced a conflict in values which has led to frustrations and personal disorganization, but also that many rural residents who commit suicide in Michigan

¹⁰ Houser and Beegle, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-56.

¹¹ A close relationship between suicide and population increase through migration is indicated for American cities. See C. P. Loomis and J. A. Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), p. 406.

TABLE 7. DISTRIBUTION OF ALL MALE SUICIDES BY AGE, RESIDENCE, AND SEASON, MICHIGAN, 1945-1949

Season	Place of residence and age											
	Rural						Urban					
	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79	20-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-69	70-79
	<i>Percentage of all suicides in each category:</i>											
Spring	18.5	32.5	35.2	33.0	30.2	24.0	22.6	27.0	28.1	25.6	27.4	28.5
Summer	22.2	23.8	21.2	25.6	27.3	24.9	21.9	27.9	22.0	26.6	27.0	26.7
Autumn	29.7	24.7	21.2	21.8	23.3	31.7	24.0	23.9	23.0	24.8	22.4	21.0
Winter	29.6	19.0	22.4	19.6	19.2	19.4	31.5	21.2	26.9	23.0	23.2	23.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: The following definition of the seasons is employed: spring—March, April, and May; summer—June, July, and August; autumn—September, October, and November; winter—December, January, and February.

are actually urban-oriented in terms of occupational pursuits. Fringe-dwellers swell the rural suicide rate.¹² The decision of such individuals to commit suicide may have its origin in an incomplete reconciliation of rural and urban values.

One of the most interesting aspects of the age-specific data, shown in Table 7, is the variability of suicides with the seasons of the year. The seasonal variation observed by Durkheim was that the highest suicide rate occurred in the spring and the lowest rate in the winter. This does not hold true for the Michigan data when age- and sex-specific percentages are computed. The highest percentage of suicides among young males in both rural and urban areas occurs in the autumn and winter rather than in the spring and summer. If this variation is not due to mere chance, Durkheim's observations would seem to be characteristic of later adulthood, for the 30-39 age group shows

percentages characteristic of the typically observed composite pattern. The writers are not in a position to hypothesize concerning this situation, without access to case-history materials.

As Dublin and Bunzel have pointed out, three factors are of considerable importance in determining the choice of the method that the suicide uses to commit the act. These factors are: (1) the accessibility of the means, (2) the power of suggestion, and (3) the psychological set of the individual.¹³ Table 8 indicates the means which the Michigan suicides employed to commit the act. These data show that there are considerable differences in this respect between rural and urban areas, between the sexes, and between age groups. It appears improbable that the observed differences between the various groups could be explained on the basis of different motivation. Such differences can be explained more adequately on the basis of the devices that were readily available and the means common to a particular generation. For example, strangulation is more common among the aged than poison, a method commonly employed by young people. It would appear that the different era in which the two groups matured would suggest the

¹² It was impossible to separate "fringe" residents from other rural residents in this study. Although a separation of the fringe residents as a special category was attempted, it was impossible to allocate the addresses of the suicides with any degree of accuracy. The extension of street names and numbers into the rural parts of the state rendered accurate allocation impossible, especially in areas for which detailed maps were not available.

¹³ Dublin and Bunzel, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-71.

TABLE 8. DISTRIBUTION OF SUICIDES BY AGE,* SEX, RESIDENCE, AND CAUSE OF DEATH, MICHIGAN, 1945-1949

Cause of death	Age, residence, and sex					
	Rural males			Urban males		
	20-29	40-49	60-69	20-29	40-49	60-69
	<i>Percentage of all suicides in each category:</i>					
Poisoning (solid or liquid).....	6.2	4.8	4.0	10.6	7.8	3.7
Poisonous gases	4.9	7.9	4.0	13.5	12.0	6.1
Hanging or strangulation.....	18.5	17.6	35.4	25.6	26.5	31.8
Drowning	1.2	1.8	3.0	6.0	3.2	9.0
Firearms and explosives.....	63.0	64.9	44.5	39.9	41.0	33.1
Cutting or piercing instruments....	2.5	1.2	7.1	0.7	3.5	8.6
Jumping	1.2	1.8	0.0	2.3	2.8	4.9
Crushing	2.5	0.0	0.5	0.7	1.4	2.0
Other	0.0	0.0	1.5	0.7	1.8	0.8
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	Rural females			Urban females		
	20-29	40-49	60-69	20-29	40-49	60-69
	<i>Percentage of all suicides in each category:</i>					
Poisoning (solid or liquid).....	20.8	28.9	12.1	45.0	17.8	14.0
Poisonous gases	0.0	6.7	0.0	2.9	10.9	7.0
Hanging or strangulation.....	20.8	26.7	48.5	13.1	39.6	42.2
Drowning	0.0	4.4	15.2	10.1	7.9	8.8
Firearms and explosives.....	45.9	26.7	21.2	21.8	12.9	7.0
Cutting or piercing instruments....	0.0	2.2	0.0	1.4	3.0	10.5
Jumping	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.4	5.9	7.0
Crushing	4.2	0.0	0.0	4.3	2.0	0.0
Other	8.3	4.4	3.0	0.0	0.0	3.5
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

*Illustrative age categories representing young adults, the middle-aged, and the elderly are given. The other age categories are omitted, to simplify presentation.

method they would employ. Poison was uncommon and difficult to obtain a generation or two ago. Today, it is readily available and, in the case of the barbiturates, it is widely used medicinally. Differences in rural and urban means may readily be explained on the basis of the availability of the means.

SUMMARY

This study has demonstrated that the rural-urban suicide differential in Michigan cannot be explained by unique age, sex, racial, or nativity distributions on the part of rural and urban segments of Michigan's population. The rural male suicide rate in

Michigan is higher for both the native-born and the foreign-born white male residents for almost all age groups. Two factors have been suggested to account for this. First, as urban values and ideals become more widely disseminated in rural areas, the conflict in rural and urban values becomes more intense. This conflict offers greater possibilities for maladjustment and personal disorganization among rural people. Second, the data that have been presented in this paper indicate that the majority of rural white males who commit suicide are engaged in occupations which are characteristic of

urbanized groups. Though they live in the country (including fringe areas) they are urban-oriented in terms of occupation and mental attitudes. None-

theless, Michigan farmers and farm managers as an occupational group exhibit extraordinarily high suicide rates.

ARE NEIGHBORHOODS MEANINGFUL SOCIAL GROUPS THROUGHOUT RURAL AMERICA?*

by Walter L. Slocum and Herman M. Case†

ABSTRACT

The eight leading rural sociology texts are in general agreement that neighborhoods persist as significant forms of association in rural America, although less prevalent and less important than in earlier times. Several recent studies raise doubts and uncertainties which have not been given adequate expression in the texts. The research reported here raises further questions. "Lay experts" at the county level delineated some open-country "neighborhoods" which were not sociologically meaningful to the residents of the "neighborhoods" and areas contiguous to them. The writers question the empirical validity of "neighborhoods" delineated by the use of methods not reaching the cognitive-behavior systems of the individuals under study.

The concept of *neighborhood* has been one of the most important concepts of rural sociology. Countless students of the subject have been taught that rural neighborhoods exist as meaningful social groups throughout rural America. The research undertaken by the writers and reported here raises some questions about the validity of this assumption.

Action agencies have been urged to take advantage of the existence of neighborhoods as a means of facilitating the adoption of their programs and practices.¹ In some sections of

the country, neighborhood boundaries have been located and neighborhoods mapped with apparent precision. Ensminger has even gone so far as to estimate the number of rural neighborhoods. He says that there are approximately 240,000 of them.²

There is general agreement among the authors of the eight leading contemporary rural sociology textbooks³

questions concerning the value of the neighborhood as an action unit.

² Douglas Ensminger in Carl C. Taylor et al., *Rural Life in the United States* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), p. 60.

³ Carl C. Taylor et al., *op. cit.*; John H. Kolb and Edmund deS. Brunner, *A Study of Rural Society* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1952); Paul H. Landis, *Rural Life in Process* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1948); David E. Lindstrom, *American Rural Life* (New York: Ronald Press Co., 1948); Charles P. Loomis and J. Allan Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950); Lowry Nelson, *Rural Sociology* (New York: American Book Co., 1948); Dwight Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization* (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1942); T. Lynn Smith, *The Sociology of Rural Life* (New York: Harper and Bros., 1947).

*Scientific Paper No. 1148, Washington Agricultural Experiment Stations, Pullman, Project No. 1096.

†The State College of Washington, Pullman, Washington.

¹ See the note by Loomis, Ensminger, and Wooley, *Rural Sociology*, VI, No. 4 (Dec., 1941), pp. 339-341. See also Loomis and Ensminger, *Applied Anthropology*, Jan.-Mar., 1942, pp. 41-59; and Hardin, *Rural Sociology*, XVI, No. 3 (Sept., 1951), pp. 278-279. Cf. Bryce Ryan, "The Neighborhood As a Unit of Action in Rural Programs," *Rural Sociology*, IX, No. 1 (Mar., 1944), pp. 22-37. Ryan raises important

that neighborhoods are to be found in all sections of the country—that they persist as significant forms of association in rural society. The texts agree that neighborhoods were more prevalent and sociologically more important in early America than they are now. In spite of this acknowledgment, however, the general impression that one gets from a review of the texts is that rural neighborhoods are to be found almost everywhere in rural America, and that neighborhoods are today extremely significant and important forms of rural association. Examination of the evidence in the several texts shows that this generalization is based upon a relatively small number of studies made in various sections of the country at different dates. Furthermore, a careful reading of the original sources reveals some uncertainties and doubts which have not been accorded adequate expression in the texts.

Recent research studies in several widely separated sections of the country raise doubts about the prevalence and sociological significance of neighborhoods in contemporary rural America. For example, Jehlik and Losey conclude that neighborhoods have been substantially supplanted as "meaningful areas of social togetherness" in Henry County, Indiana.⁴ Jehlik and Wakeley found 108 neighborhoods in Hamilton County, Iowa, but acknowledged that these groups "play a role of declining importance." They found wide variations in the extent to which farm people identified themselves with their neighborhoods.⁵ Hay and Polson

in a recent study of Oneida County, New York, found rural neighborhoods less prevalent than in earlier days. They state:

The strong role of neighborhoods in earlier days has made for some persistence of these groups. Place names of neighborhoods survive; farmers commonly say they live in the Fox Road area of the Glass Factory locality. But this awareness of "common locality experiences" is primarily limited to a few specific experiences. It does not include most of the group participations of rural families.⁶

Alexander and Nelson found numerous open-country neighborhoods in Goodhue County, Minnesota, but they acknowledged that "the county has moved far along the road toward formalized and secondary group life." They state that the classification "of locality groups . . . according to service area, community and neighborhood is admittedly arbitrary" Mayo and

⁴ Donald G. Hay and Robert A. Polson, *Rural Organizations in Oneida County, New York*, Cornell University, AES Bull. 871, Ithaca, N. Y. (May, 1951), p. 18.

⁵ Frank D. Alexander and Lowry Nelson, *Rural Social Organization in Goodhue County*, University of Minnesota, AES Bull. 401, St. Paul, Minn. (Feb., 1949), p. 85.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 25. These writers expressed reservations about the term *neighborhood* and also about the terms *community* and *service area*, stating that ". . . these terms have come to be used so loosely that they lead to confusion" (p. 24). Nevertheless, they felt obliged to interpret their classification of locality groups and write their conclusions in terms of these concepts ". . . because the terms provide the necessary semantics required for reference in discussing locality group phenomena . . ." (p. 24). Alexander has since completely rejected the concepts of *neighborhood* and *community*, at least for research purposes. He states that these terms ". . . have lost their significance as scientific terms and should be abandoned for research purposes." (See Frank D. Alexander, "The Problem of Locality-Group Classification," *Rural Sociology*, XVII, No. 3 [Sept., 1952], p. 237.) The present writers do not agree with Alexander that the concept of *neighborhood* should be abandoned. It does have semantic value and there is no reason why

[footnote continued on next page]

⁴ Paul J. Jehlik and J. Edwin Losey, *Rural Social Organization in Henry County, Indiana*, Purdue University, AES Bull. 568, Lafayette, Ind. (Nov., 1951), p. 57.

⁵ Paul J. Jehlik and Ray Wakeley, *Rural Organization in Process: A Case Study of Hamilton County, Iowa*, Iowa State College AES Bull. 365, Ames, Iowa (Sept., 1949), p. 126.

TABLE 1. ANALYSIS OF NEIGHBORHOOD DEFINITIONS OF EIGHT CONTEMPORARY RURAL SOCIOLOGY TEXTBOOKS

(When a page reference is given, the element is explicitly mentioned in the specified textbook. A blank [—] means that there is no specific reference to this element, although in many cases it seems to be implied.)

Elements in the definitions	Rural sociology textbooks*							
	Smith	Lindstrom	Nelson	Landis	Sanderson	Taylor	Loomis & Beegle	Kolb & Brunner
	<u>Page</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Page</u>	<u>Page</u>
1. Locality base	331	148	71	22	234	57	187	159
2. Locality group	331	148	71	24	235	55	187	167
3. "Neighborly" relationships	331	149	77	74	237	57	187	173
4. Membership is by family, or neighborhood is made up of families....	331	151	76	—	234	57	187	159
5. Exists as a structure in the consciousness (has social-psychological meaning for members).	331	148	77	22	236	57	—	159
6. Small number of families.	—	151	76	—	234	57	187	—
7. Primary group	—	148	—	22	239	—	—	159

*For the full references for these textbooks, see footnote 3.

Bobbitt, after a study of Wake County, North Carolina, have suggested abandonment of the terms *neighborhood* and *community* and substitution of the term *locality group*, saying:

The dichotomous connotation of neighborhood and community concepts has brought forth too much confusion.⁹

This leads to the question: *What is a neighborhood?* Review of the prin-

it should not continue to be a useful concept in setting up a research frame of reference for analyzing and interpreting empirical data concerning the interaction patterns of rural people, even though the actual forms of interaction may vary from the ideal type as suggested later in this paper.

⁹Selz C. Mayo and Robert McD. Bobbitt, *Rural Organization: A Restudy of Locality Groups in Wake County, North Carolina*, North Carolina AES Tech. Bull. 95, Raleigh, N. C. (Sept., 1951), p. 30. Mayo has evidently found it difficult to dispense with the *neighbor* portion of the *neighborhood* concept. In a recent publication, Barnett and Mayo have commented favorably about the utility of the *neighbor group* for extension work: William E. Barnett and Selz C. Mayo, *Neighbor Groups*, Progress Report RS-14, North Carolina State College, Agricultural Experiment Station, Raleigh, N. C. (June, 1952), p. 12.

cial contemporary rural sociology texts reveals that agreement exists with respect to many of the characteristics of neighborhoods (Table 1), although the terminology used by the several authors is not identical.

Formal definitions are not provided either by Landis or by Nelson. More or less systematic definitions are offered by the other texts, but in most cases these definitions are supplemented or qualified by further statements.

All the texts examined agree that neighborhood has an area or locality base. All characterize neighborhoods as locality groups. Most state explicitly that a neighborhood consists of a small number of families. The emphasis is upon interfamily rather than interpersonal interaction patterns.

Kolb and Brunner, as well as Lindstrom, characterize neighborhood as a primary group, the first group or the most important group next to the family. Landis calls it "the most elemental group beyond the family in the

dispersed type of settlement"¹⁰ Loomis and Beegle do not agree, pointing out that a neighborhood might be composed of several cliques, friendship groups, or kinship groups, which, in their opinion, are the groups of greatest importance next to the family.¹¹

All mention the presence of neighborly relationships (e.g., visiting, various forms of mutual aid, etc.). There also seems to be fairly general agreement that most of the families residing in a neighborhood consider that they are members of it, think of it as a cohesive social unit, and usually can give its name. Only Loomis and Beegle are silent on this point.

It is the opinion of the present writers that an area should not be called a neighborhood unless most of the people who reside within the boundaries of the locality in question consider that they are members of a neighborhood, think of it as a cohesive social unit, and act accordingly.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

As a means of exploring the meaning now given by rural people to the term *neighborhood*, a section dealing with this subject was incorporated in an inquiry into the economic and social adjustment of farm veterans of World War II.

Information was obtained by personal interview from 152 families who resided in five widely separated localities in the state of Washington.¹² Only

about a third of these informants were veterans.

Prior to the interviews, however, local persons in each of the five localities—including county agents, school teachers, and others—were asked to delineate on a map the boundaries of neighborhoods. These "lay experts" were asked if each area they had outlined on the map had a name. Usually it did have a name. The same map was used for all the informants. It is acknowledged that this approach may tend to influence the replies of the respondents toward consensus.

This method of delineating neighborhoods is frequently used by rural sociologists.¹³ When it is used, an attempt is sometimes made to verify the information by asking residents of the area thus identified as a neighborhood such questions as the following:

1. How large is your neighborhood?
2. How many people live in your neighborhood?
3. What is the name of your neighborhood?

Some of the residents of these pre-designated neighborhoods were interviewed. At this point, however, the customary procedure was altered. Instead of asking questions such as the foregoing, which *structure* the replies and tend to give the investigator the answer he seeks, the interviewer asked, "What meaning does the term *neighborhood* have for you?"

This question was almost invariably followed by the probe questions, "Do you live in a particular neighborhood? If so, does it have a name?" Only after these questions had been answered in the affirmative were the respondents

¹⁰ Landis, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

¹¹ Loomis and Beegle, *op. cit.*, especially chap. 5.

¹² Although this paper does not deal primarily with the question of the extent to which neighborhoods exist in the state of Washington, it is probable that strong neighborhoods are less prevalent here than in some sections of the country. This probability exists because there are few open-country churches or schools and few ethnic settlements, and because highly commercialized types of farming prevail in many parts of the state.

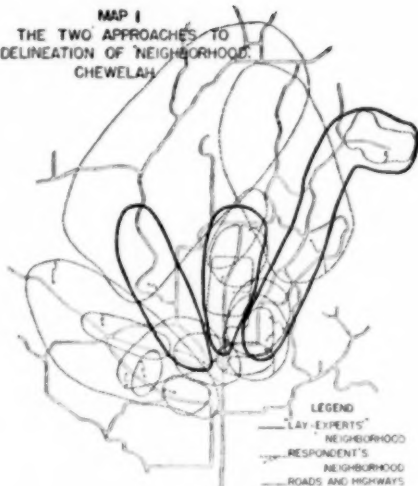
¹³ See for example, Ensminger's discussion in Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 62; Jehlik and Losey, *op. cit.*, p. 58; and Beers, Williams, Page, and Ensminger, *Community Land-Use Planning Committees*, University of Kentucky, AES Bull. 417, Lexington, Ky. (June, 1941), p. 156.

asked if they could outline the boundaries of their neighborhoods.¹⁴

Chewelah. The field investigator was told by "lay experts" that there were at least eight identifiable neighborhoods in the vicinity of Chewelah, each of which had a name and each of which appeared to have a distinctive topographic boundary. Twenty-five families were interviewed in three of these "neighborhoods" and other contiguous areas. Two-thirds of these families had lived in the localities for 11 years or more; yet almost none of the respondents had any clear idea of what the term *neighborhood* meant. Some used the words "neighborhood" and "community" interchangeably; others referred to their "district"; still others simply referred to the direction they were from town. Forty per cent of the respondents cited two of the conventional characteristics of neighborhood, always including the notion of area and frequently that of awareness of people, but without including intimacy of association. Almost seven out of ten were able to delimit an area which they "might" consider their "neighborhood," and in most cases they were able to give this area a name; but the "neighborhoods" thus delineated did not form any consistent pattern (Map No. 1). Furthermore, the families interviewed had few, if any, social contacts with the other families in the "neighborhoods" mapped by the "lay experts."

¹⁴ This approach is similar to the so-called "phenomenological" approach used in social psychology which emphasizes the point of view that, for social meaning to be attributed to a phenomenon, such meaning must exist in the consciousness of the people involved. In this regard, it should be pointed out that many respondents spontaneously replaced the term *neighborhood* in their defining with such terms as *district*, *community*, *locality*, etc. When such a semantic equating was made, the probe questions were modified to improve communication.

MAP 1
THE TWO APPROACHES TO
DELINEATION OF 'NEIGHBORHOOD'
CHEWELAH



Obviously, it was not possible to confirm the existence of neighborhoods in the vicinity of Chewelah. Yet it is entirely possible that, had the usual approach been followed, the view of the people consulted at the county level might have been accepted and it might have been concluded that neighborhoods did, in fact, exist.

Entiat. As in the preceding case, "neighborhoods" were delineated by "lay experts." These "neighborhoods," which lay in and along the Entiat River Valley, appeared to have natural topographic boundaries. Almost eight out of each ten of the respondents had lived in these localities for 11 years or more, yet few of them appeared to have a clear-cut concept of neighborhood. Thirty-seven per cent of the respondents were able to outline an area as their neighborhood, but there was no consistency in the responses. To some, the neighborhood simply meant the general locality in which they lived; to others, it meant their direction from town. Only 18.5 per cent gave a name to their "neighborhood." Furthermore, the concept of neighborhood did not necessarily mean social interaction with the group of families in

the immediate vicinity. Consequently, it was concluded that no clearly structured neighborhoods existed in the localities visited. This conclusion is different from the one which would have been drawn had the opinions of the "lay experts" been accepted at face value.

Bellingham. "Lay experts" in this area identified five "neighborhoods" in the open country. The field investigator visited 38 families residing in four of these "neighborhoods" and in other contiguous areas. Sixty-three per cent of these families had lived in the general area for 11 years or more. Yet most of those interviewed preferred not to outline the neighborhood-community on the map because they were not sure of the boundaries. About seven out of ten gave some name for the "neighborhood," although they were not sure what was meant by the term. To 47 per cent of the respondents, neighborhood had one characteristic—usually the area connotation, but occasionally it connoted awareness of people. Only 13 per cent included two of the elements, and barely 5 per cent included as many as three of the elements listed in Table 1. In this locality, the term *neighborhood* had various meanings—such as school district, community, general farm area, or some other area. The interrelationships of the families in the Bellingham area were not restricted to those living nearest to the family being interviewed. It should be mentioned, however, that there is a high proportion of part-time farming around Bellingham. This situation doubtless makes for weakening of neighborhood ties.

As in the two preceding cases, the conclusion may be drawn that serious discrepancies may appear between the use of judgments by "lay experts" and the approach used in this inquiry.

Port Orchard. In this locality, four identifiable open-country "neighborhoods," without distinctive topographic boundaries, were mapped and named by the "lay experts." Thirty-three of the residents in three of these and other contiguous areas were interviewed, and they did not agree with the informants residing in Port Orchard itself. Only 36 per cent of these open-country residents had lived in this locality for 11 years or more. In this locality there seemed to be no consistent distinction between the concepts of neighborhood and community. Where a distinction was made between the two terms, it seemed to be stated in such a way as to suggest that it was really not a meaningful one to the respondent. Slightly over half of the respondents gave their "community" and "neighborhood" a common name. Similar difficulties were found with respect to the specific meaning of the concept of neighborhood. There was little agreement from family to family. To 45 per cent of the respondents, neighborhood had but one characteristic—most frequently an area concept. Six per cent added psychological content such as awareness of people, interests and attitudes, etc. Less than 10 per cent included three or more elements in their definition of the term. Many of the respondents said, "I don't understand you," "I don't know," or "I never really thought about it."

Only one of the "neighborhoods" visited by the field investigator proved to have the characteristics attributed to neighborhood in the standard meaning of the term. Respondents in the Greenacres neighborhood—a cluster of seven farm houses within a radius of about two miles, could not identify themselves with any community but they considered themselves members of the Greenacres neighborhood. This locality was initially settled by German immigrants, who evidently had lived in relative isolation and who, according to

local families interviewed, had made little attempt to break away from their own cultural ties. Most of the German families no longer live in the locality, but their successors continue to regard the area as a neighborhood. Most of the farms in it are now owned by a closely knit religious group bound together by a Pentecostal church. The church itself is not located in the open country, but the concept of neighborhood is meaningful to the people who live there. They interact with each other in neighborly relationships, and the name "Greenacres" has social significance for them.

In the Port Orchard area, then, only one of the four "neighborhoods" initially identified appeared to warrant designation as a neighborhood from the standpoint of the social-psychological content given to the term by actual residents of the localities.

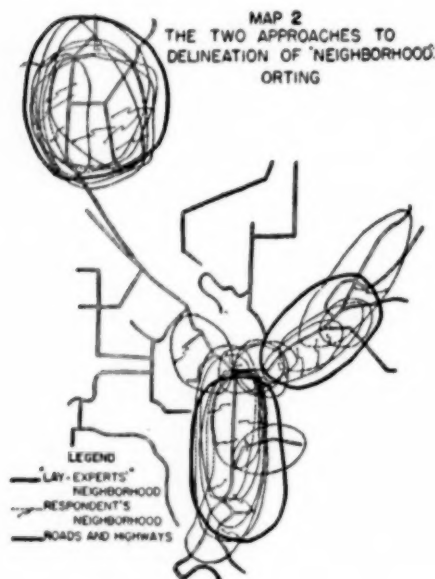
Orting. Four distinct open-country "neighborhoods," without natural topographic boundaries, were identified by "lay experts" in Orting. The field

investigator visited 29 farm families in three of these and other contiguous localities. Only 38 per cent of these families had lived in these localities for 11 years or more.

Yet, in all three localities around Orting, the concept of neighborhood was meaningful in the traditional sense to the majority of the respondents, although less than a majority distinguished clearly between neighborhood and community. The area boundaries drawn by the residents formed a pattern which agreed reasonably well with the "neighborhoods" mapped by the "lay experts" (Map No. 2). The people who reside in these areas "neighbored" with each other, and most of them knew what the term *neighborhood* meant in the conventional sense. The conclusion is that some neighborhoods do exist in the Orting area.

SUMMARY OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

"Lay experts," who presumably had considerable familiarity with the rural people in the counties in which the five localities were situated, delineated "neighborhoods" on a map and usually were able to give "neighborhood" names. Subsequent interviews with residents in some of these "neighborhoods" usually revealed that the residents of the localities in question did not consider that they were members of the predesignated "neighborhoods." With a few notable exceptions, residents of the "neighborhoods" and contiguous areas did not have a clear-cut idea of the social-psychological meaning of the term *neighborhood*. Neither did their relationships with nearby open-country families—again with a few notable exceptions—indicate the existence of neighborhoods as defined by the texts. The existence of distinctive topographic features did not appear to have any influence on the existence of neighborhoods. This was also true with respect to length of people's



residence in the locality. Near Orting and Port Orchard, where neighborhoods were found, there are practically no topographic boundaries. Furthermore, most of the respondents in the two strongest neighborhoods, which were near Orting, had settled in the area relatively recently.

IMPLICATIONS

The foregoing research has been exploratory in character. The number of cases involved is too small to form the basis for affirmative generalizations. It is clear, however, that it is quite possible for people at the county level to think of a locality as a neighborhood, even though the residents of the locality itself do not consider themselves to be members of such a neighborhood. The results appear to be sufficiently significant to warrant raising the question: Are we deluding ourselves about the prevalence and meaning of rural neighborhoods? If we are, then we are misleading not only ourselves but also our students and the action agencies that depend upon us for advice with respect to the significance of groups in rural society.

The writers question the empirical validity of "neighborhoods" delineated by the use of methods not reaching the cognitive-behavior systems of the individuals who actually compose the lo-

cality groups under study. In an earlier day, the traditional structured approach might have been adequate, if, in fact, neighborhoods were then virtually universal as some have claimed; but now that there is some doubt about the existence of neighborhoods as meaningful social entities in some localities, the investigator must exercise great care lest he fall victim to his method. There is danger that a structured approach may betray the investigator into thinking that neighborhoods exist where they do not.

If further research along the lines suggested in this paper should confirm the findings that have been indicated above, then it may be that the time has come for rural sociology to think of the concept of *neighborhood* primarily as an ideal type, useful principally for heuristic purposes but certainly not as a basis for action programs. It is possible that, in contemporary rural America, neighborhood forms may vary from the *Gemeinschaft* type of well-structured, clearly articulated neighborhood to the *Gesellschaft* situation where there is almost total lack of neighborly relationships. In any case, the foregoing data suggest that rural sociologists should be wary of neat generalizations about *the* rural neighborhood.

RESEARCH NOTES

Edited by Harold F. Kaufman

RURAL-URBAN DIFFERENCES IN THE SPACING OF THE FIRST BIRTH FROM MARRIAGE: A REPEAT STUDY

by Harold T. Christensen†

In June, 1938, *Rural Sociology* published the writer's article on rural-urban differences in the time-interval between the marriage of parents and the birth of their first child, Utah County, Utah. It was reported then, for that population, that the starting of a family takes place sooner among rural residents and farmers than among urban residents and nonfarmers. These findings were regarded as giving support to well-known differentials in the birth rate.

Recently the writer has been engaged in retesting these generalizations on a different population.¹ From official marriage and birth records for Tippecanoe County, Indiana, data on date of marriage, date of first birth, place of residence, occupation of the husband, etc., were compiled. All marriages of in-state residents for the years 1919-21, 1929-31, and 1939-41 were included. Birth records were searched for five years following each wedding date. This yielded a completed sample of 1,531 cases.

Approximately 43 per cent of the couples studied had a child born to them within the first year of marriage. The overall mean time-interval from marriage to first birth was 19.6 lunar months, or 549 days.²

Comparisons by residence and occupation revealed the following: Rural residents had

a mean time-interval of 534 days as compared with 545 days for the urban; and farmers had a mean time-interval of 532 days as compared with 636 for a combined clerical and professional group.³ Thus, as in the earlier Utah County study, rural residents and farmers seemingly tend to start their families sooner than do urban residents and nonfarmers.

One hundred seventy-eight couples, or 11.6 per cent of the total sample, had a first child born to them within seven lunar months from marriage. These cases can be regarded as involving premarital conceptions. The rural part of the sample showed this same proportion within this category, namely 11.6 per cent. When occupational comparisons were made, however, farmers showed only 10.4 per cent within this category, which is somewhat lower than the overall average.

In conclusion, it seems evident that the farmers of this sample have tended disproportionately to: (1) avoid premarital conception,⁴ and (2) start conception soon after the marriage ceremony. In other words, their shorter-than-average time-interval between marriage and first birth is to be explained, not by any supposed excess of premarital pregnancy cases, but by an evident absence of delay (relatively speaking) once the ceremony has taken place. Other aspects of this study on child-spacing are being reported elsewhere.

†Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana.

¹ Olive P. Bowden collaborated in the present study and is to be credited especially with the gathering and coding of data.

² In the earlier Utah County study, 57.8 per cent of the first births took place within the first year of marriage, and the mean interval was 14.7 lunar months, or 412 days. The shorter interval there, compared with Tippecanoe County, is probably to be explained by differences in populations, Utah County being more rural and largely Mormon.

³ W. A. Anderson reported that only about 20 per cent of his Cornell University graduates (classes of 1919, 1929, 1931) had a child within the first year of marriage and that the mean time-interval was approximately 32 calendar months; see *Rural Sociology*, XIII (September, 1948), pp. 307-314. This longer interval than for either of our studies is probably to be explained mainly by the fact that Anderson was studying an exclusively college-trained group. Furthermore, his data were gathered by questionnaire, which suggests the likelihood of under-representation of short interval cases (especially those involving premarital pregnancy) due both to under-reporting and to possible falsification.

⁴ Statistically speaking, the first of these differences is not significant, while the second is highly significant at less than the 1-per cent level of confidence. Thus, occupational classification is more discriminating here than residential classification, due undoubtedly to the fact that many "urbanized" persons live in rural areas.

⁵ While not conclusive, our findings here are at least suggestive. If premarital pregnancy is less than average in the farm population, as indicated here, there is still need to explain whether this difference is due to (1) more efficient birth control or (2) less frequent sexual intercourse. Since there is little reason to think that farm youth are more sophisticated than their city counterparts regarding birth control, it seems logical to conclude that they engage in premarital intercourse less frequently. Support for this view is found in Alfred C. Kinsey et al., *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (Philadelphia: Saunders, 1948), *passim*. They say, "The differences between rural and urban groups are greater in regard to premarital intercourse than they are for any of the preceding activities. In most age groups and at all educational levels, more of the city boys are involved and fewer of the farm boys" (p. 455).

APPLIED SOCIOLOGY NOTES

Edited by Paul A. Miller

LIBRARY SERVICE TO RURAL AREAS: A PROPOSAL

by Archie L. McNeal†

"The point at which the library movement in the United States has been least successful is that at which it has undertaken to extend library service into predominantly rural farm areas."¹ This statement, made by L. R. Wilson in 1938, is equally true today. Much progress has been made and experiments continue, but the real solution remains to be found. We may be proud of the effective county service in California; and in Massachusetts, with library service for 100 per cent of its population. However, in the Southeastern States, with their preponderance of rural population, the gains are slight. This fact is recognized in one major study as a serious problem: "Most of the people without libraries, 51 percent, live in small villages or open country. Over half the rural population is without public library service. Of the 3,050 counties in the United States, 661—many of them entirely rural—have no public library of any sort within their boundaries. Three-fourths of these are in the South."² Many factors contribute to this situation: low economic level, lack of educational opportunities, low population density. In addition, never having experienced good library service, the rural populace in general may not recognize library need. This is particularly true when members of a county court are asked for an appropriation to support a service that they have been able to get along without for many years. Librarians have a selling job to do, but they are unable to do it alone. A step in the right direction has been made in recent conferences of librarians and rural sociologists on a national level. The first of these conferences was held the day before the mid-winter meeting of the American Library Association in January, 1948; the second took place in December, 1948, just prior to the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society. Each was a work conference in which mutual problems were considered.

†University of Miami, Coral Gables, Florida.

¹ L. R. Wilson, *The Geography of Reading* (Chicago: American Library Association and University of Chicago Press, 1938), p. 440.

² C. B. Joeckel and Amy Winslow, *A National Plan for Public Library Service* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1948), p. 19.

That the rural sociologist recognizes the value of the public library is illustrated by the following statement by Dwight L. Sanderson: "As an educational institution, the public library has possibilities exceeded only by those of the public school and the Extension Service."³ L. R. Wilson, as far back as 1938, recognized the librarian's need for help on the problem of rural library service. He expressed the need for a common attack on the problem "with the cooperation of the county and state health and education officers, the county, state and federal farm and home demonstration agents, the rural sociology and extension departments of the land-grant colleges and universities, and the farm, adult education, and civic organizations interested in the enrichment of rural life."⁴

The Adult Education Board of the American Library Association has suggested the possibility of cooperation between libraries and county agricultural and home demonstration agents as one method of improving the quality and increasing the quantity of rural reading.⁵ There have been isolated instances of such cooperation; but there is need for careful planning involving state and national authorities of the Agricultural Extension Service and library agencies, aimed at providing suitable reading matter to supplement all phases of the county agents' educational work.

The conference on rural reading in September, 1951, sponsored by the Extension Service of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, brought together publishers, librarians, agricultural workers, authors, educators, and others to discuss some of the problems. For the first time, the attention of representatives of these groups was concentrated on rural reading and the means of providing it.

The county agents have a close contact with, and a great knowledge of, the problems and needs of rural people. That the library's potential is recognized at the national level may be best illustrated by the following statement that M. L. Wilson, then Director of Extension, U. S. Department of

³ Dwight L. Sanderson, *Rural Sociology and Rural Social Organization* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1942), p. 420.

⁴ Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 441.

⁵ A. L. A. Adult Education Board, *Experiments in Educational Service for Adults* (Chicago: American Library Association, 1940), p. 24.

Agriculture, made at a Graduate Library School Institute: "Although such influences as the motion pictures and the radio are important devices in the shaping of our culture, the written word—whether in the form of textbooks, general literature, or periodicals—is still the greatest source of those ideas that contribute most to the intellectual advancement of our democratic culture."⁶

In North Carolina, the Extension Service gives recognition to members of home demonstration clubs who review three books or more from a suggested list compiled by the North Carolina Library Commission. This project had grown from 61 certificates awarded in 1938 to more than 1,000 in 1947. In addition to the State Library Commission, the state and county health departments and the State Recreation Commission are cooperating with the Extension Service in this project.

Thus there is ample precedent for a cooperative program involving the Agricultural Extension Service. Admittedly, the county farm agent and the county home demonstration agent are already responsible for an extensive program. Therefore, it is not proposed to add to present burdens. Instead, planned cooperation from state and local library agencies should serve to share the problems, by providing educational, informational, and recreational reading matter; by the preparation of special reading lists on subjects about which the rural person asks information of the agent; and by serving as the agency to which the agent can refer questions requiring time and special materials to answer.

The raw materials for such cooperation exist in many states. Tennessee is one example among the Southern States. Each of the ninety-five counties is provided for by the Agricultural Extension Service. The state is divided into five districts, supervised by district Extension agents. Likewise, Tennessee has a regional library service, which had its inception in 1937 but was not functional until implemented by an act providing funds in 1943. At that time, TVA was withdrawing from the east Tennessee area involving thirteen counties and agreed to turn over to the State Department of Education the books and equipment it had in service in those counties, provided the state appropriated funds (\$20,000) to continue library service in that area. In 1945, the amount provided by the

legislature was \$75,000 per annum, and in 1947 the amount was increased to \$100,000 per annum.

The state is divided into ten regions for library purposes, each with the full-time services of a professionally trained librarian. The program is in charge of a state director, with offices in Nashville. At present, 61 of the state's 95 counties are participating, while 8 counties have independent library service and 26 have no form of library service.

Objectives of regional library planning in Tennessee have been outlined as follows:⁷ (1) to provide citizens of Tennessee with adequate library facilities; (2) to develop in citizens a desire for books and reading, and an awareness of the values of the public library; (3) to give service to teachers and students in the schools of each region; (4) to provide adults with materials to assist them in their individual and community problems; and (5) to provide all rural communities with the advantages of large-scale facilities and operation. It is the fourth of these objectives which is singled out for attention. In a recent study of rural reading interests conducted by the author⁸ with the cooperation of the Agricultural Extension Service, it was found that only 14 persons out of 750 reported using the regional library, while 608 of the 750 reported attending Extension meetings. In defense of the regional libraries, it should be noted that only five of the ten counties surveyed in the study are participating in the regional library program.

In this study, the rural community was used as the basis. It is obvious, from the results, that the Agricultural Extension Service is reaching these areas, while library agencies are not.

The rural "community," as referred to here, is not a community in the sense of a compact village or town, nor is it a trading center. Instead, it may consist of a number of families in a remote area, brought together by a common interest in farming, through the efforts of the Extension agents. One such "community" extended nine miles up a county highway in one direction, and about six miles down the road in the opposite direction.⁹

⁷ Catherine Zealberg, *Books for All* (Nashville: State Department of Education, 1947), pp. 2-3.

⁸ Archie L. McNeal, "Rural Reading Interests: Needs Related to Availability," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1951.

⁹ See also Robert E. Galloway, Paul M. Houser, and Harold Hoffsommer, *Community Aspects of Library Planning*, Maryland Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. A-56, College Park (Mar., 1951).

⁶ M. L. Wilson, "Life in the Country," *The Library in the Community*, ed. by Leon Carnovsky (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), p. 106.

A letter from the Office of the Director of Extension, U. S. Department of Agriculture, states that that office has no record of studies on the organized community in Tennessee or other states, but that, "The farm management people here say that the organized community idea has been carried by TVA to all the 'valley counties' in Kentucky, North Carolina, Mississippi, and Alabama, as well as Tennessee."¹⁰ This type of organization of rural people, therefore, may be assumed active in a good part of the Southeastern Region.

Two factors have influenced the development of rural community organization in Tennessee. One was the joint University of Tennessee-Tennessee Valley Authority Test Demonstration Program; the other was the community improvement contest fostered by civic organizations of the four major cities of the state. As early as 1920, the Agricultural Extension Service sponsored such organized communities, but they were loosely organized and chiefly social in nature. The present development in Tennessee began around 1937.¹¹ These rural communities comprise a group of farm families with common interests who join together to solve common problems. The president of one community surveyed was principal of the local school. The president of another was a worker in the county highway department, who had stopped school at the fourth grade. But the one thing they all seemed to have in common was a strong desire to do things for their community in a cooperative spirit. Meetings are usually held once a month, and the county Extension workers are invited and try to attend, although in one county the county agent said there were more than sixty such communities. They meet in the school or in some other central location. Some communities have their own "community house."

More than 30,000 farm families in the state are participating in the annual community-improvement contests, and there are almost 500 communities now organized.¹²

Such an organization seems to offer an ideal opportunity for development of library service, especially in counties where the regional library program is operating. The major emphasis up to the present has been on the school as the location for the

station served by the regional library. Homes, stores, churches, and community centers are also utilized, but to a much lesser extent. Too often, when the school is used as the center for book service, there is a tendency for the books to become identified with school purposes and for the needs of the children to be emphasized to the exclusion of those of the adults in the community. The inherent timidity of many adults when faced with the formality of the school in session also must be considered. But where the school is the meeting place for the organized community, it may well be used as the center for library service. The important point is coordination with such a group to the end that library service becomes an integral part of the life of the families comprising that community. A schedule could be worked out with the county agents concerning the time of meeting for the various communities, and the bookmobile could visit each in turn. Arrival might be timed to precede the scheduled time of meeting by half an hour, so that the librarian would have time to discuss needs with various persons.

Such a program would achieve many desirable ends. First, it would make for closer cooperation with the agricultural Extension workers, making them more conscious of the possibilities of help from library agencies. It would take advantage of the strong position of the agents, established through many years of effective service to the farmer. It would reach the people at a time when they were thinking in terms of community goals and improvement, and would tend to identify the library in their thinking as an agency helpful in accomplishing these things. In the Tennessee study, more than a third of the persons answering a question concerning the convenience of the location of library service stated that it was not convenient. Many studies of library use have shown that distance is an important factor in people's use of a library, and that people tend to use facilities most convenient to them. The proposed method would overcome this opposing factor.

Cooperation with the county home demonstration agents, such as that reported for North Carolina, could easily be effected under this program. Of 387 female respondents in the Tennessee study, 291 reported that they attended meetings of a home demonstration club. Obviously, the coverage through this aspect of extension work would be effective. A program so effective cannot be overlooked by a newly developed

¹⁰ Personal letter, July 25, 1949.

¹¹ Penn Worden et al., *Rural Community Organization in Tennessee* (Knoxville: Agricultural Extension Service, University of Tennessee, 1947).

¹² Fletcher Sweet, "Planning for the Rural Community," *Tennessee Planner*, VIII (Aug., 1947), p. 12.

public service attempting to provide for the needs of the same group.

In summary, then, it is proposed that library service to rural areas be implemented in the following manner: (1) cooperation with the state Agricultural Extension Service in planning, correlating Extension districts and library regions; (2) cooperation between regional librarians, county farm agents, and county home demonstration agents; and (3) utilization of the rural community organization, wherever it exists, as a basis for contact and service. The common goal of the two services—improvement of rural opportunities and service to the needs of the individual—would seem most likely to be achieved through close cooperation and understanding. Joeckel emphasizes the point in his reference to the great nation-wide program

of rural adult education of the Agricultural Extension Service, which he says embraces recreational as well as educational aspects: "The need for books and library service in this great program is obvious; in many places, close cooperation between agricultural agents and library authorities has produced excellent results."¹³

Libraries, then, must go out and seek cooperation and aid from other agencies, such as rural sociologists, farm organizations, and county health and welfare workers. They must be ever alert to new opportunities for service, reaching the people through whatever agency contact can most effectively be made.¹⁴

¹³ Joeckel and Winslow, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

¹⁴ For a recent study of rural reading, see Paul M. Houser, Robert E. Galloway, and Harold Hoffsmeyer, *Rural Reading Habits*, Maryland Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. A-69, College Park (no date).

BOOK REVIEWS

Edited by Charles E. Lively

Farm and College: The College of Agriculture of the University of Wisconsin. By W. H. Glover. Madison, Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 1952. Pp. xi + 462. \$5.00.

This is one of the volumes celebrating the hundredth anniversary of the University of Wisconsin's founding. The author was born on a Wisconsin farm and is currently chief of administrative services of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

The intent of the volume is to place the history of the College of Agriculture "in the broadest possible background of the history of Wisconsin's agriculture." To a considerable extent this objective has been attained. Glover has examined a tremendous number of sources. These include not only correspondence, the records of the college, the minutes and committee reports of the university regents and those of the legislature, but also the proceedings of farm organizations, the farm press, and the newspapers—including rural weeklies. Besides using these sources, he interviewed persons of importance in the development of the institution. The footnotes occupy fifty-eight pages at the end of the volume, the bibliography seven more. The sources have been used with discretion. In the main, the well-organized story moves along at a satisfactory tempo without being cluttered by too much detail—when one considers that the primary audience is the residents of Wisconsin.

The volume has significance, however, beyond the campus and state with which it is concerned. Our great colleges of agriculture now have an assured place in the social and educational fabric of the nation, as well as an international reputation. It is well to be reminded that this was not always true—to have recorded, at least for this one state, the steps by which the present status of the land-grant institutions was reached.

The first course in agriculture at Wisconsin was organized in 1868 and revamped in 1874. Only one student completed the full program in each of these courses. The Grange was too preoccupied with political and economic issues in its early years to give more than a *pro forma* blessing to the enterprise. The familiar scorn of many farmers for any academic opinion related to their tasks is recorded. Some of this was

voiced even by professors at the university, at least one of whom actively opposed the agricultural program. The citizens of Madison were not always helpful. The cutting down of some trees at the experimental farm resulted in trouble for the director: He had spoiled a favorite promenade of the local population!

It was chiefly the dairymen who supported the early work, and in return profited from it. This was especially true when the depression of the 1890's made technical and economic efficiency and adjustment to the emerging phase of commercialized agriculture imperative.

There is a moving account of the anguish and panic over the discoveries of bovine tuberculosis, and the steps for its eradication. Nine-tenths of the prize, blooded herd of the college's own cattle were found to be infected.

Somewhat earlier, in the 1880's, agitation arose to separate the college from the university. To this the regents were opposed. Partly to defeat this measure, farmers' institutes were organized. They were an immediate success; 50,000 farmers attended the first year. Many of the staff were themselves operating farmers. The continued use of farmers as staff members developed both speaking ability and leaders among the rural population.

Home economics (called "Cooking") was added to the institute program early in the 1890's. These institutes put the college into extension in a big way, but it was only an expansion. A lack of students from the first had given the faculty opportunities they seized avidly for both research and extension work. It seems incredible in 1953, but there were years between 1880 and 1900 when the college had no students, and two years when it had only one. The twentieth century came before the enrollment stayed above a dozen.

Service to the farmers of the state paid dividends and rooted extension firmly in the program of the college. As early as 1907, Dean Russell laid down the now universally accepted concept that a college of agriculture is "a three-legged institution"—the legs being instruction, research, and extension. It was during his administration also that the battle between a purely vocational curriculum and broader training was fought out. Victory for the latter alternative resulted in many agricultural stu-

dents taking courses in the College of Letters and Science, from which Home Economics was transferred to the College of Agriculture, in 1909.

This reviewer is both gratified and disappointed at the treatment of the social sciences. These fields are allotted one of the shortest chapters in the book, eleven pages. Within this chapter, however, rural sociology is given proportionate treatment. Galpin's developing interest in, and contribution to, the field is noted, as is Kolb's research on neighborhoods and communities. Considering the objective of the volume, the dismissal—in four lines—of George Hill's work in cultural analysis of immigrant elements seems a bit abrupt. While the drama clubs developed in the 1920's are mentioned, the public discussion, music, and art extension activities are not. The lines given to the drama clubs record the origin of this program and give statistics for a single county in 1921. The great expansion of this work and its influence on many other colleges is not noted. Similarly, while the assistance of the college to the cooperative movement is fairly well covered, the discussion does not so much as hint that this was ever noticed outside Wisconsin. Hibbard is mentioned but does not win a place in the index. This reviewer would also have preferred a somewhat longer discussion of the "folk school."

But these complaints are only small spots on a most attractive fabric. The author has performed an extremely difficult task with distinction.

EDMUND DE S. BRUNNER.

Columbia University.

Soil and Civilization. By Edward Hyams. New York: Thames and Hudson, 1952. Pp. vii + 312. \$4.50.

This significant volume is one of a series devoted to the general theme of "The Past in the Present," of which Jacquetta Hawkes is editor.

Soil and Civilization is divided into five sections: definitions; man as a parasite on soil; man as a disease of soils; the marginal cases of Eurasia, China, and India; and finally, man as a soil maker. Four photographic plates and five maps illustrate the volume. The thesis is international in scope, with illustrations ranging from Oklahoma to Europe, to the Orient, and thence to the Andes.

The author holds that "nature and state of soil" shape the character of the community; and this character, in turn, influences the health of the soil. Man resorts

to such arrangement and rearrangement of the physical resources at his command as will satisfy the appetites of the flesh and the liberation of his spirit. "All living creatures, animal and vegetable, live according to a rhythm: they disturb the order of things in the service of their existence, and then restore the order by terminating their life." Man is differentiated from other organisms in the adjustment process in that he possesses a consciousness and develops a religion as part of his adjustment process.

Soil is conceived of as a living entity with complex symbiotic relationships existing in each soil community. Into the different soil communities man comes, sometimes in the role of partner and sometimes in the role of parasite, with different types of soil lending themselves to exploitation and partnership roles, respectively.

People, plants, and animals of soil communities are conditioned in their adaptation by their soil. "The grapevine changes its habits to suit the soil"; so does man. Rich illustrations of such conditioning are widely drawn from history.

Land tenure as an instrument of soil destruction is illustrated from India's experiences and is contrasted with the manuring, terracing, pit-digging, and irrigation practices of the Andean world upon which a great Inca civilization was built.

Hyams refers to the perfect "artificial" soil of Atlantic Europe, which he holds is the product of a "soil-worshipping religion enduring from primitive to civilized times."

The tools and techniques of soil conservation and soil rebuilding are more than knowledge and material means—they are also the states of the mind and the spirit. The past is important. "A community which ignores or repudiates its origins, in its present acts, is no more whole and healthy than a man who has lost his memory."

To the ancient farmer the earth was alive and animated by spirit. In order to manipulate the earth he had to be attuned to the spirit animating it. Modern societies cannot give up their intellectualism and return to the mysticism of the past; however, the sciences to be successfully applied to the rehabilitation of soils must become the servants of esthetic insight and a motivation that borders on the spiritual. The big task is one of creative ecology in which "natural" and "balanced" soil communities are built upon dead soils. This "creative ecology" is an art using the sciences as its servants. "If man can also think of himself as one of the materials of this new art, as well as the artist, he may yet learn from

his ancient contact with soil how to live nobly and at peace."

WILLIAM E. COLE.

University of Tennessee.

'Twixt the Cup and the Lip: Psychological and Socio-Cultural Factors Affecting Food Habits. By Margaret Cussler and Mary L. De Give. New York: Twayne Publishers, 1952. Pp. 262. \$3.95.

This is a remarkable interpretation of the sociological, cultural, and psychological factors that affect rural food habits. The findings are based on surveys in three distinctly different communities: one representing one-crop, tobacco-growing, coastal-plain economy; one a live-at-home economy with diversified farming; and one a prospering cotton economy with long-term tenants. A penetrating analysis is achieved by the partnership in which the northern author checked her observations against her southern colleague's intimate familiarity with the culture—especially the foodways, the aspects of culture that affect individual food habits.

Four configurations or prevailing values in southern culture are analyzed to show how the food patterns reflect these values: respect for tradition, reverence for science, affability (southern hospitality), and approval of social distinctions. For each factor attention is given to the different ways in which the races (white and Negro) and the distinct social classes (owners, sharecroppers, and wage laborers) reflect these values in their actual practices with respect to food.

The conclusions indicate that food habits do change. "Often, where the ideal foodways go unarticulated, preaching tends to coincide with practice" (p. 136).

How change can be speeded up is implied in the review of some of the studies of effectiveness of techniques. Praise instead of scolding, group decision instead of the lecture method, and actual demonstrations that give experience that sticks in the mind long after anything read is forgotten are approaches that educators will recognize as promising in the rural setting.

One value of this study, not to be overlooked, is the basis it offers for planning a program for improving food habits. In the Southeast, many organizations will doubtless use it as a starting point for such programs. With the cooperation of county or state nutrition committees—many of which still carry on the functions described by the authors—analyses paralleling these might

well be made in other regions of the United States, i.e., the Northeast, the Northwest, or the Southwest.

It is important to note that the authors, trained in the social sciences, did not claim that their studies were nutrition studies as such (p. 23); and, as is quite obvious, their data were more qualitative than quantitative. They checked their data on nutritional adequacy of the diets against the dietary allowances recommended by the National Research Council and with authorities such as those in the medical field. Their findings merit confidence.

The implications of this study are worthy of the serious attention of educators, administrators, and technologists. Workers in programs of technical assistance, too, will find in the illustrative case material some of the processes with which they are confronted and some guiding principles.

THELMA A. DREIS.

Bureau of Human Nutrition & Home Economics, USDA.

The Politics of Agriculture: Soil Conservation and the Struggle for Power in Rural America. By C. M. Hardin. Glencoe, Illinois: The Farm Press, 1952. Pp. 282. \$4.00.

The reader, whether or not he is familiar with the development of the politics of agriculture in the United States, will find that the author of this book has very effectively used soil conservation as an illustration and, at the same time, has emphasized the importance to the country of the policies involved and the methods followed in the development of agricultural programs. The author points out that the struggle for power within agriculture not only is something to watch with interest or consternation, but that the struggle is of vast concern to both the farmer and the consumer of farm products.

Although the magic term *soil conservation* is used, the author has in mind the entire farm program. The complexity of the problem is made very evident, yet the author discusses quite clearly the functions and policies of the various federal, state, and local governmental agencies and of the farm organizations, and points out the relationships among them. He emphasizes the interplay of personalities, fact, fancy, emotion, propaganda, ambition, desire for power, and the centralization of planning for agriculture in strong, centralized, federal agencies (as opposed to decentralization and "grass roots" planning).

The text is well documented, and quotations from original sources are frequent and well chosen. The author presents all sides of the many controversial issues, as far as possible. He discusses these issues frankly, from the political scientist's viewpoint, and in many instances expresses his own conclusions concerning the problems.

Probably every reader of the book who has some knowledge of the soil conservation programs during the last twenty years will find points of agreement and disagreement, but each will have a better understanding of the policies and processes involved in agricultural politics in this country.

JOHN H. LONGWELL.

University of Missouri.

Atomic Power: An Economic and Social Analysis. By Walter Isard and Vincent Whitney. New York: The Blakiston Company, 1952. Pp. xi + 235. \$4.75.

The verbal repercussions to the explosion of the first and succeeding atomic bombs set in motion a chain of unreasoning thinking that paralyzed analytical thinking about the potential of this new source of energy. Isard and Whitney are to be congratulated for providing us with such a sober and analytical approach to the use of atomic power.

As they say, "The chief motivation for writing this book has been that of attempting to provide and interpret some of the data needed for intelligent consideration of the control problem, and to suggest methods of analysis of certain relevant economic factors, especially in their sociological, demographic and geographical setting, and from an international as well as from a domestic point of view."

In the discussion of the technological background of atomic energy, it is pointed out that atomic energy has not been developed to the point that it can be used directly. It is another source of power like coal, oil, and electricity. The cost analysis of generating atomic power shows that it is still more expensive than conventional sources of power.

The authors point out that the tremendous capital outlay required for building atomic generators will slow up the development of atomic power in countries with a sufficient source of conventional power like the United States; but countries like Russia, which are deficient in conventional sources of power, will speed the development of atomic power.

However, underdeveloped countries, like India, lack the capital required for developing atomic power; consequently, it does not seem that this new source of power will be of much value in reducing the economic differential between countries.

After pointing out the economic factors limiting the usefulness of atomic power for commercial purposes, the authors are forced to resort to the historical-comparative method for predicting the welfare advantages that may come from the use of atomic power. One is aware of the limitations of economic analysis as a tool for predicting the probable use of atomic power. The authors point out the direct and indirect results that accrued from the introduction of petroleum, natural gas, and hydroelectric power, and, by interpolation, predict that similar welfare results may be expected from the use of atomic power in the future.

Since the book is the joint effort of an economist and a sociologist, the reader is led to expect more integration of the two disciplines than appears in the book. An integration of the cultural and economic analyses, rather than treating these factors separately and using the last chapter to integrate in a summary fashion, would have added to the value of the book from this reviewer's point of view.

However, viewed in its totality, this book is a long step forward in bringing maturity to the social sciences. The authors have focused the analytical tools of social science on the most complicated technological problem of our times and have shorn off all the myth, crystal-gazing, and unfounded hopes about the radical changes that the atomic age will usher in. The authors have also charted a very useful course for the application of social science analysis to the consequences of technological inventions.

ERNEST E. NEAL.

Tuskegee Institute.

The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement. By Lowry Nelson. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952. Pp. xvii + 296. \$5.00.

Repeated requests for research monographs no longer available led the author to bring his previous studies relating to Mormon villages together in a single book and to supplement them with a restudy of two of the six villages originally studied during the middle twenties. In the preparation of this book he has also drawn heavily from historical sources of information and undoubtedly from his own personal

experiences as a past member of a Mormon community.

The life struggle of these people, in an environment of hostile people and governments, is interpreted in the light of present and past cultural influences which have been instrumental in shaping their destiny. A central theme for the book is provided by the manner in which elements of American and European culture have been incorporated into a Utopian yet realistic pattern of living and settlement, and in turn how these patterns were influenced by outside forces. As such, the monograph is an acculturation study of merit. The influence of current trends of secularization and urbanization on the life and thought of the Mormon villages is plainly demonstrated, as are trends toward specialization and commercialization in the occupation of farming itself. He clearly shows how the humanitarian values embodied in the millennial ideal of Mormonism have been forced to yield with reluctance to economic and social forces in the larger society, and to the influence of federal legislation which has made certain institutional changes virtually mandatory.

The author's able interpretation of the struggle between locally idealistic orientation of thought and action and the leveling influence of the forces imposed from without stands as one more stern warning to legislators who would impose blanket legislation without due consideration of local conditions, and to Utopian planners who would remain oblivious to the larger society of which Utopian experiments must inevitably become a part.

As a study of the Mormon settlements in the United States and Canada, this monograph has no rival. It will remain of continuing interest to sociologists and anthropologists. It will also be useful to those who must exercise responsibility in community planning and to those who are in need of a careful evaluation of the village-type settlement under conditions otherwise geared to commercial agricultural production. It is indeed fortunate that Lowry Nelson was impelled to write this book which the publishers have quite appropriately described as fascinating, informative, and authoritative.

HERBERT F. LIONBERGER.

University of Missouri.

The Sociology of the Parish: An Introductory Symposium. Edited by C. J. Nuesse and Thomas A. Harte, C.Ss.R., with a foreword by Samuel Cardinal Stritch. Milwaukee, Wisconsin: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1951. Pp. xii + 354. \$4.50.

The Church Inventory Handbook. By Herbert E. Stotts. Denver: Wesley Press, 1951. Pp. xv + 235. \$3.75.

In the past, it has been embarrassing to teachers of rural sociology to have to admit that their discussions of the rural church have been based almost entirely upon studies of Protestant churches. While Catholic rural churches have been included in some studies, *The Sociology of the Parish* is the first systematic treatment by Catholic scholars of the local parish. This symposium treats the local parish in both rural and urban communities. While it is possible to study the parish as an administrative unit, as an institution, and according to ecclesiastical laws, it is also possible to analyze it in terms of its being a social group.

This volume presents a brief history of the development of the parish throughout the world. Part II is devoted to the social organization of rural, urban, racial, and national parishes in the United States. Part III considers the methodology for the sociological study of the parish, material familiar to most rural sociologists. It also contains many excellent suggestions for persons planning to do research on the problems of Catholic parishes. The remainder of the book is devoted to an analysis of the changes taking place in parishes, the missionary role of the parish, and a review of parish research in Canada, Germany, and Poland.

For rural sociologists who are teaching courses related to the rural church or doing research in this field, this is a book that merits serious consideration. It contains many suggestions for the sociological study of religious groups, whether they are Catholic or Protestant. Sociologists will find the volume an excellent one to read along with Joseph H. Fichter's *Dynamics of a City Church*, which is volume 1 of a series being published by the University of Chicago Press under the general title of *Southern Parish*.

The Church Inventory Handbook, by Stotts, has grown out of the author's experiences in teaching courses in the field of the rural church at the Iliff School of Theology. As the title suggests, this is a book on the methodology of studying the local church.

While it has resulted from research on Protestant churches, it is reviewed here, along with the Catholic study of the parish, as a handbook that can be used for analyzing both Protestant and Catholic religious groups.

Part I, which presents the purpose and use of surveys, is based upon the ecological approach, and includes time series surveys, and socio-psychological, demographic, and functional analyses. Part II deals with the methodology of conducting field surveys. Part III is devoted to tabulation and laboratory procedures. The conclusion is a brief statement of the contribution of the social sciences to the work of the church.

While this book contains no methods of sociological research that are not already known to sociologists, persons teaching courses on the church will find it an excellent textbook. Persons desiring to conduct surveys and research on local churches, and who have not been trained in sociological methods, will find this a handbook which can be readily understood. If they follow it carefully, they will be able to make sound studies of local religious groups. This handbook should be read by all ministers. Sociologists may want to suggest it to persons who come to them for advice in making church studies.

LAWRENCE M. HEPPLER.

University of Missouri.

Methods in Social Research. By Wm. J. Goode and Paul K. Hatt. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1952. Pp. vi + 386. \$5.50.

This book is intended "to make both the elements of basic logic and research procedures of modern sociology understandable at the undergraduate level." The presentation follows a somewhat standardized outline. The first three or four chapters are devoted to an orientation of the student toward the science of sociology and research in this area. Following this introduction, subsequent chapters deal with questionnaire construction, interviewing, sampling, scales, analysis of data, and preparation of the report. Nearly all of the contemporary techniques, methods, and concepts of quantitative research are included in this piece of work, and their treatment would seem to be reasonably adequate for undergraduate students. It seems doubtful whether advanced graduate students will find the exposition of topics sufficiently penetrating for their purposes.

One chapter not ordinarily included in such standardized works deals with re-

search techniques in population. Birth rates, death rates, fertility ratios, and life table construction are presented. The inclusion of these topics is a worthwhile addition.

Another contribution, in which this volume is superior to many texts in research methods, is a concise treatment of the design of proof in testing hypotheses.

The chapter on questionnaire construction is particularly good, in that it sets forth certain important principles and illustrates how these can be followed to produce a good schedule.

Considerable space (about a sixth of the book) is devoted to scaling techniques, including social distance scales, sociometric analysis, and scalogram scales. Yet in view of the great amount of methodology developed in this area, the materials included here do little more than introduce the larger body of literature.

The chapter on sampling may serve to introduce the subject sufficiently to the undergraduate student, but, in view of the developments in sampling theory, the discussion included in this text seems particularly brief. Theories of standard errors in stratified and cluster sampling are omitted entirely, and the same is true for the sampling of proportions and ratios.

The book is quite readable and the illustrations from "live" pieces of research should make it a popular text for undergraduate courses in methods of research in sociology.

C. L. GREGORY.

University of Missouri.

Sociology: An Analysis of Life in Modern Society. By Arnold M. Green. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1952. Pp. x + 579. \$5.00.

Teachers of courses in introductory sociology are prone to examine new textbooks with some misgivings. Suspicion arises when a subtitle, such as is attached to this book, appears ominously indicative of the inclusion of very little sociology at all. And, with the statement, "The primary purpose of an elementary sociology textbook is to aid the student in acquiring an understanding of his own society," doubts begin to multiply. Some sociologists might equally argue that the primary purpose of an elementary sociology textbook is to introduce the student to the discipline of sociology. It is particularly disturbing to have an author state that "conceptual and theoretical material has been kept to the essential minimum." It would seem obvious

that concepts are the language of a science; science without concepts is unthinkable. The doubts in the reviewer's mind were further increased by the author's notion that he could design a book "for both the general student and the student who will go on to major in sociology."

Fortunately this book proves to be a pleasant surprise. After a clear and concise explanation of what sociology is and how it is differentiated from other social sciences, the author proceeds, in the conventional order utilized by most contemporary introductory texts, to cover quite thoroughly the necessary substantial materials and does so within a reasonably complete conceptual framework. In some respects this book overshadows many others in the field. The discussion of the socialization process, involving a comparison of Cooley's and Freud's points of view, is the best this reviewer has seen in an introductory text. A timely departure is the break with the traditional pattern of treating economic and political institutions as separate entities. Green appropriately handles them as a single chapter.

The generous use of clear and simple diagrams is a refreshing innovation, as is the inclusion of a list of visual aids and the wide use of examples drawn from school and family life. This latter facilitates clarification of general principles to beginning students who should feel at ease in these familiar areas. References are relatively up-to-date and almost all sources are primary rather than a rehash of other textbooks. No introductory text can satisfy all teachers, but this one is certainly superior to many which have appeared in recent years; and, surprisingly enough, Arnold Green comes close to approaching the goal of "a book for both the general student and the student who will go on to major in sociology."

IRVIN DEUTSCHER.

University of Missouri.

Readings in Marriage and the Family.

Edited by Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952. Pp. xv + 460. \$4.25.

Landis and Landis—students of marriage, prolific writers, and masters of the student questionnaire research technique—have now turned to the greening pastures of readings editorship. The particular aggregate under review is intended to bear "unbiasedly" upon the areas of pre-marriage, marriage, and post-marriage relationships.

The venture itself is indicative of the chaotic state of theory and generalization in the areas mentioned. Today the undergraduate is no longer harkened to possible theoretical implications of sets of data; rather, the vogue is to give him a spate of disconnected observations with the admonition to pick and choose theory, or, better still, develop his own!

The seventy-five readings here presented (usually in somewhat condensed form) are drawn, in rough order of their frequency, from the areas of attitude surveys, cultural anthropology, *verstehen* sociology, social problems, and psychiatry. Added to this is a small miscellany of articles mostly written for popular consumption. They are arranged to fit the organization of the conventional marriage and family course—with emphasis on marriage. The sixteen major headings each subsume anywhere from two to nine selections. The conventional editorial prerogative of cementing the interstices between major divisions with theoretical concepts has been relinquished in favor of introducing each selection with a few motivating remarks. Sixty per cent of the articles are reprinted from *American Journal of Sociology*, *American Sociological Review*, or the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, and the remainder scatter widely among some twenty-one journals—professional and popular—and four works of conventional good standing.

The quantitative emphasis in these selections may be unfortunate. The assumption that the atomistically conceived, statistically oriented, research *bagatelle* will be both interesting and instructive to college students is, from the reviewer's experience, somewhat dubious. Selections from some of the better popular journals, welfare case materials, clinical psychological and psychiatric observations, human documents not written as class exercises, and even short stories might be productive of richer insights and explore larger segments of society than are usually revealed by questionnaires directed at college students.

By the same token, however, the selections in the volume improve as one gets deeper into the book, and the psychiatric material on family interaction, the discussion of new areas of family study, the suggested therapeutic approach to the problem of divorce (by a judge), and the debate on acceptable sexual behavior add up to excellent reading. Also fresh and interesting: "Cupid is My Business"; "The Rh

Blood Factors"; "The Effect of Adoption on Fertility"; "Children of Divorce"; "Problems of the Modern Homemaker-Mother"; and "The Practical Application of Basic Mental Hygiene Principles by the Cornelian Corner."

Sociologists have long regarded family studies as central to their discipline. Institutional aspects have been stressed and family change explained generally in terms of declining functions. Current emphasis centers upon the family as a unit of social organization and as an agency for personality development. Whatever the perspective, *The Family* still sits secure in the house of sociology; but dating, courtship, marriage education, and the like still cry, albeit lustily, at the doorstep. Until the "problems" arising in these areas are approached from the standpoint of relevance to sociological theory (even "lesser range" theory), the argument for their elevation beyond the high-school classroom seems somewhat less than compelling.

In light of increasing costs of textbooks, the supplemental use of these readings could better be rationalized if a cheaper, paper-bound copy were available.

ROBERT W. HABENSTEIN.

University of Missouri.

Your Marriage and the Law. By Harriet F. Pilpel and Theodora Zavin. New York: Rinehart and Company, Inc., 1952. Pp. xv + 358. \$3.00.

This book on the legal aspects of family life was written for the layman by two lady-lawyers, with the warning that the content is no substitute for the services of a lawyer. The sociologist certainly can profit from the concise review of varied laws, court decisions, and practices pertaining to the forty-eight states, and even see some glimmering of rational purpose behind the legal principles—although he would agree with the authors that the legal principles often apply to a bygone age. The male reader learning of laws and decisions concerned with property, support, alimony, breach of promise, and impotence may feel that the time is ripe for a man's movement.

The book is somewhat chronologically structured, with successive attention to getting married, relations with children, the sex aspect, and finally the termination of marriages by separation, annulment, and divorce. A realistic distinction is made between divorce laws and actual motives and practices. Legal knowledge gives the authors no illusions about the power of the

law to make people "good." No family sociologist could argue more vigorously than they do, for a preventive and therapeutic approach to ailing marriages in contrast to the prevailing assumptions of guilt and punishment.

There are many nice things to be said of the book. It is simply written, enlivened by illustrative dialogue, and there are pithy summaries of court decisions which go to the heart of the issue. There is interesting, up-to-date information concerning the legal aspects of contraception, sex deviations, abortion, and artificial insemination. The use of annulment as a substitute for divorce is stressed, and the decline in breach-of-promise suits is, according to the authors, a legal adaptation to social realities.

It is impossible for a reviewer without special legal training to check on the accuracy of the undocumented statements concerning the laws of various states. Some discrepancies with other sources were noted. One receives the impression that the influence of canon law is not fully revealed, as it is in Max Radin's *The Law and You*, that the frequency of induced abortions is exaggerated, and that statistics and statistical guesses are sometimes confused. One can forgive the lack of documentation or bibliography in a popular book, but an index would certainly have made the volume more useful.

The sociologist, even more than the general reader, should have the legal information available in this book, but he should check with other sources before incorporating it into his sociology.

CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK.

Indiana University.

Rural Life in Northern Ireland. By John M. Moge. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947. Pp. xiv + 240. No price listed.

These five regional studies made for the Northern Ireland Council of Social Service will interest rural sociologists, particularly for the scope and techniques. Comparison and contrast with current studies on the western side of the Atlantic are suggestive.

Moge, in the first of two introductory chapters, presents this small 5,238-square-mile, six-county country as a whole, with an emphasis on the geographic factors in which he earlier specialized. The second chapter, "The Rural Area," is devoted largely to a historical account of conditions which bear upon changes in rural life,

especially those promoting or retarding economic progress.

The five regions chosen for intensive study well represent the diversity found within the country: (1) the worst clay lands, (2) the marginal farms of the hills, (3) the best-farmed districts, (4) the areas affected by the Belfast market, and (5) the medium, mixed-farming land. In each case the whole population of the district was included, adding to farming families those of farm laborers, other workers such as mill hands, a few specialists like carpenters, and a considerable number of retired and pensioned persons. Clearly the actual rural community is wider than the farming occupation.

Religious differences, especially Catholic and Protestant, are not ignored, for they seem to affect considerably the social, economic, and intellectual development of their adherents. Social organizations, such as the Young Farmers Clubs in which girls as well as boys hold membership, are brought into the picture as contributors to an improved rural life.

The volume as a whole is notable for the nice balance maintained among physical factors of topography, climate, and soil; historical factors—religious, political, and social; and economic factors in farming itself and in the regional life.

Rural living is here appraised in broad terms of population movement, family composition, housing, water supply, toilet facilities, and electric lighting as well as in terms of size of income. There is a consistent concern with the processes and possibilities of making life better in every type of community.

For those who are not acquainted with the author, it may be added that Moge was born in Northern Ireland, directed the present study while on the faculty of Queen's University, Belfast, and is now a lecturer at Oxford University. The reviewer looks forward to the time when John Moge may come to the United States, so that more Americans can share his comprehensive and comprehending approach to rural problems.

WILLIAM F. BRUCE.

Washington, D. C.

Co-operation in Kodinar. Bombay: The Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, 1951. Pp. xiii + 151. Rs. 6/.

This is an informative study of the history and growth of the cooperative movement in Kodinar, a taluka of the Amreli

district of India. The region under study covers an area of 225,698 *bighas*, or approximately 132,763 acres. There are 66 villages distributed throughout the region, and, at the time of the present survey, 46 agricultural societies were in operation and reaching practically all of the villages. However, only 24 per cent of the families of Kodinar are "served," or are members of the village societies.

The study contains an introduction, three main sections, and an appendix. The introductory material gives a historical perspective to the cooperative movement, as well as an appraisal of its achievements and failures. It also presents a listing of various objectives regarding the cooperative approach to rural rehabilitation.

The main text of the study is divided into a survey of the socio-economic structure of the region, the cooperative movement, and rural rehabilitation related to the cooperative movement. The socio-economic structure (Part One) is explained in terms of physical features, agricultural economy, industrial occupations, and social conditions and development agencies.

Part Two relates the functions of the cooperative program. The special feature worthy of note in the cooperative movement of Kodinar is that it is organized on a multipurpose principle. In this connection, the Banking Union is considered the "pivot society," or parent organization, serving a total of fifty-two smaller cooperative societies.

Part Three of the study, "Rural Rehabilitation," briefly outlines a plan for the continuing development of the economic resources of Kodinar, as well as reorientation and expansion of the cooperative societies.

The study ends with a short appendix. The first part of the appendix presents a few brief biographical sketches of some of the leading cooperators in Kodinar. The second part lists some of the special features of a few of the smaller cooperative societies. A map of the Kodinar taluka and a few pictures throughout the various sections add to a fuller comprehension of the material.

Although the study is written more from an economic point of view and is centered to a large degree within the economic frame of reference, there is a vast amount of information of interest to the rural sociologist.

GEORGE T. BLUME.

University of Missouri.

Kuomintang and Chinese Communist Elites. Series B: "Elite Studies," No. 8. By Robert C. North with the collaboration of Ithiel de Sola Pool. Introduction by John K. Fairbank. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1952. Pp. vii + 130. No price listed.

Recent books written about China are usually either an apology for the Kuomintang party, with a pat on the back for Generalissimo Chiang's personal efforts in guiding the party, or a carefully documented "support" of the present Communist party, with the assurance that the Chinese Communists are not to be associated with the Russian type. While North specifically wished to analyze the social backgrounds of the leaders of both parties, and thus not to be drawn into any serious arguments about the merits of either party, his discussion does not steer clear of the controversy, and this reviewer detects a condemnation of the Kuomintang elites (p. 84).

The first three chapters, dealing with the development of leaders from both parties, are handled competently by North, and constitute a good source of reference for those who want a brief but detailed review of the major political happenings since 1911. Similarly, the last chapter (on the growth of the People's Government) and the appendices (containing names of members of both party elites of different years) are extremely valuable source materials.

However, the presentation of the main ideas of the book, in chapter IV ("The Social Characteristics of Chinese Party Elites"), is disappointing. The author utilizes personal data on the leaders of both parties and, by means of percentages, attempts to show the patterns and trends of the social attributes of these elites. This reviewer feels that the statistical method employed for analysis is both inadequate and naïve, for two reasons: (1) Small samples of the elites do not permit the use of percentages with any reliability; and (2) the limited number of years employed does not allow an establishment of a trend of social characteristics of the elites. Nevertheless, this criticism should not deter the serious student of Chinese politics from reading North's work.

KONG-MING NEW,
University of Missouri.

Society and Personality Disorders. By S. Kirson Weinberg. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952. Pp. viii + 536. \$5.75.

For the first time, basic psychiatric and mental hygiene subjects have been systematically presented in a framework of sociological theory. The author is a sociologist and social psychologist, and professor of sociology at Roosevelt College in Chicago. The ultimate appearance of a book such as this one was foreshadowed more than a quarter of a century ago as certain psychiatrists began openly to depart from classical biological approaches to personality disorders and to expand their interests beyond the walls of the mental hospitals.

In 1933, William A. White, an influential psychiatrist, wrote of "social psychiatry" concerned with man as a social being in his relations with others.

Sigmund Freud, the father of the psychoanalytic school of psychiatry, had earlier recognized the effects of interpersonal relationships in the family upon personality. His emphasis, however, was on biological sources and universal aspects of the psychodynamics on which he built his psychoanalytic theory.

More and more, psychiatrists have come to view the so-called mental patient not merely as a sick organism but as a disturbed, distorted, maladjusted person. This trend culminated in the definition, by psychoanalyst Harry Stack Sullivan, of psychiatry as the study of interpersonal relations, and in the viewpoint of the neo-Freudians who emphasized patterns of human relationships as the basis of understanding the causes and cures of personality disorders. Many psychiatrists have now come to operate in a sociological perspective instead of the exclusively medico-biological traditions of classical psychiatry.

Weinberg has brought the sociological concept of social relationships into wide and intense application to the understanding of the causes, cures, and prevention of the personality disorders. These include the neuroses, schizophrenia, manic-depressive states, and the acting-out disorders characterized as psychopathy and deviant behaviors. In general these disorders are seen as arising out of, or greatly influenced by, the social dynamics of group processes within given cultural settings. It is recognized that biological processes limit these social influences; a chapter is devoted to a discussion of heredity, constitution, and physique as influencing factors.

Social relations, or interaction, have as their central dynamism the role-taking process so well known to social psychologists. When the person has an unimpaired ability to shift and share the viewpoint, attitudes, and feelings of others, to successfully resolve his conflicts, and to maintain a realistic and satisfying conception of himself, he may remain an ordered person. But when the role-taking capacities are deficient, or when the person becomes isolated or involved in prolonged and insoluble role conflicts, tensions, and anxieties, inappropriate behaviors arise as symptoms of personality disorders.

Following a statement of this approach and theory in Part I, the author devotes Part II to detailed discussions of the social factors and various developmental processes which lead in the direction of neurotic, psychotic, and psychopathic disorders. The symptoms of each disorder are presented; social dynamics, out of which the symptoms are generated, are discussed; and the relations between culture and the varied disorders are set forth.

Part III, which deals with treatment, is of especial importance and will have much interest for the sociologist. If personality disorders arise out of disturbed social relations, it is logical that they can be treated by social relational techniques. This section deals essentially with patient-therapist relations in psychotherapy and with patient-patient and patient-therapist relations in group therapy. Individual psychotherapy is viewed as a unique interpersonal relationship aimed at elevating the patient's mental health by helping him to revise his self-conception and to change his attitudes and overt behaviors. The techniques and procedures range from orthodox Freudian psychoanalysis to non-directive counseling. In group therapy, the therapist sets in motion those group processes considered ameliorative, but plays different roles depending on the treatment aims and types of patients involved. It is suggested that group therapy is of particular importance in helping to meet the developmental needs of people in an impersonal, competitive society characterized by isolation and utilitarian relationships.

The two final parts (IV and V) of this book deal with the treatment and care of psychotic or legally insane persons in mental hospitals, with post-hospital adjustment, and with principles and methods of mental hygiene. There is a discussion of the hospital as a social institution and of patients as persons.

Effective programs of research and action concerning the causes, treatment, and prevention of personality disorders and character defects require the cooperation of numerous disciplines. This book should be enormously helpful to those students who want to gain a better understanding of the field of mental and social health and ill health. It will be welcomed especially by those teachers who have been in need of an adequate textbook for courses in social psychiatry as an applied branch of social psychology.

It is difficult to find much ground for negative criticism of this meritorious book. If it is somewhat pedantic and a bit repetitious, these are the expected conditions of textbook writing. There is no doubt that it makes a decided advance in the newly defined fields of social psychiatry and medical sociology.

A. R. MANGUS.

The Ohio State University
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University of California,
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Sociology in Educational Practice. By Clyde B. Moore and William E. Cole. Boston, Mass.: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1952. Pp. viii + 440. \$4.00.

Educational sociologists, as is well known, are not all of the same breed. Some write as sociologists, some as educators, and some as free-lance "worldsavers." Some seek to advance sociology as a science; others seek to improve education. At any rate, each new book—and the record this year is impressive—raises anew the question, What does it do and where does it fit?

In this case, one author is an educator, the other a sociologist. Their aim has been to bring sociological knowledge to bear upon education, to present and analyze this knowledge for the improvement of school work. Their focus is far more on factual data than on theory, far more on educational goals than on educational processes, far more on our society than on its schools. It is as though they had asked themselves: What is known about our mode of life, especially our institutional practices, that can be of most help to young people as they prepare themselves to teach in public schools?

The take-off in the book is with learning, or rather with education as directed learning, in a social setting. Next is a chapter on the forces conditioning education—

man's physical equipment, his innate ability, the environing world of nature, and some of our many cultural milieus. This is followed by twelve chapters on these "forces," constituting by far the greater bulk of the book. These units in order are the family, child groups, the church, economics, leisure, the local community, democratic ideology, population, intergroup relations, class structure, the international setting, and education as a state and federal enterprise. The volume concludes with chapters on the sociology of curriculum making, sociological implications of teaching methods, and the role of education in change and progress.

Any such wide coverage within limited space is bound to show omissions. For example, a chapter on mass media might well be included. Second, complex materials are thrown in at times without adequate reasoning about them—for example, certain basic charts and tables. Third, the weakest chapters are perhaps those dealing with the school curriculum, with teaching method, and with social change. Goal-thinking in these sections is fine—perhaps a little repetitious, but good reading nevertheless. Yet if a teacher wants to move toward these objectives, make them central in his work, it is doubtful whether in this book he will find much practical help. Of course, the authors are not writing a how-to-do-it manual, and I for one am quite thankful for that.

Perhaps the last four chapters might have been combined into, say, two content chapters bearing on methods of change yet attempting no operational treatment of them.

The strength of this book lies, I believe, in its wide coverage, its up-to-dateness, its compact style, its abundance of empirical data, and its excellent chapter bibliographies. On all these points, I would give *M* for merit, or *H* for honors, depending on which grading system the authors prefer. On other points, I would cut this mark a bit, though not to the extent of intimating that it is not a good book; in fact, it is a first-rate college textbook.

LLOYD ALLEN COOK.

Wayne University.

Practical Applications of Democratic Administration. Edited by Clyde M. Campbell. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1952. Pp. x + 325. \$3.00.

In recent years several books have appeared which have emphasized the role of

leadership in and for a democratic society. This symposium, written by twelve persons active in education, is an interpretation of the role of educational administrators in a democratic society, and does for the field of education what Ordway Tead, in *The Art of Administration*, did for administration in general. Most of the contributors are public school superintendents in the state of Michigan. This book frankly faces the realization that the basic problems of school administrators are in the field of human relationships.

Part One consists of four chapters dealing with educational leadership in a free society, and is based upon recent investigations in education, psychology, sociology, and anthropology. There are excellent discussions of the need for democratic leadership, the social context of leadership, and the contrasts between authoritarian and democratic leadership. Although the objectives of the authors appear to be entirely sound, this reviewer believes that the discussion of educational leadership in a free society could have been improved. We are familiar with the problems of the titular or nominal leader and the hierarchy of leadership. As a result of the emphasis placed upon the importance of training people in leadership, the authors have overlooked the close relationship between leadership and followership. A part of the training of a leader consists of learning to be a good follower. In a democratic society, people play both leadership and followership roles at different times. It is difficult to imagine a democracy or any form of social organization in which all persons play the role of leader at the same time. In fact, it would be an impossibility, because whatever else may or may not be included in a definition of leadership, there can be no leader without at least one follower.

Part Two contains seven chapters which deal with applications of democratic educational leadership in eight Michigan communities. These case studies illustrate how different problems were faced by the communities and what was done through democratic leadership of administrators and teachers in the public school systems. They illustrate what can be done in such areas as school and community development, operation of groups in the community, democratic in-service education, visiting-teacher service, family education, and evaluation as a technique of democratic administration.

The two chapters in Part Three are devoted to the future of democratic ad-

ministration and raise some serious questions concerning the present program of training for educational administrators. There is the realization that a certain number or sequence of academic courses is not enough. It is proposed that provision be made for a broader training of administrators by permitting them to take many related courses. To persons familiar with the limitations of the usual classroom procedures, the proposal of some type of apprenticeship training in line with the abilities of future administrators is most welcome.

This book was written primarily for people in education, and it should be read by all persons now engaged in, or preparing for, work in education. It deserves serious consideration by educational sociologists. While rural sociologists will not find therein any cases of educational administration in rural communities, the case studies of the eight communities are excellent illustrations of what might be done in rural community organization. Rural sociologists working in the field of leadership will find both some interesting material related to specific problems of educational leaders and, in the chapter on evaluation, a good illustration of how the group-thinking process may be used.

LAWRENCE M. HEPPLE.

University of Missouri.

Medical Public Relations. By Edgar A. Schuler, Robert J. Mowitz, and Albert J. Mayer. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1952. Pp. xiv + 228. No price listed.

This is a study of the public relations program of the Academy of Medicine in Toledo and Lucas County, Ohio, in its total social setting: historical, administrative, political, and sociological. The study was a result of the cooperative efforts of the Academy of Medicine, the Health Information Foundation, and Wayne University. The research plan included four phases: first, an objective analysis of the development, organization, and administration of the public relations program; second, the reactions of a sample of about 50 resident physicians to the program and their appraisal of the problem areas in local medicine; third, an assessment of the general knowledge and opinions of about 50 "leaders" in the community concerning local medical care and the public relations program; and fourth, measurement of the attitudes, feelings, and opinions of persons in 554 representative households regarding

medical care in general and certain aspects of the program. The Toledo public relations program consisted of five principal activities: (1) a telephone Service Bureau for locating emergency medical help at any time; (2) a plan for establishing better family-doctor relationships; (3) the preparation and distribution of a pamphlet "to codify home nursing procedures"; (4) the establishment of a Speakers Bureau; and (5) the establishment of a Professional Relations Committee to handle complaints and disciplinary matters.

The major portion of this excellent volume is an interpretation of the attitudes and opinions of the public and their leaders concerning the public relations program which was developed in response to the socio-political environment of the post-World War II period. The first part of the study evaluates the administrative aspects of the development and organization of the program. The study has a broader exploratory objective pertaining to the complex field of contemporary medical and health services in the county.

The findings indicated that the public relations program was a concentrated effort of the Academy of Medicine to stem what they believed to be a powerful force in motion toward a program of compulsory health insurance or "socialized medicine." Among all three groups studied, there was some evidence that the program has had some genuinely favorable results, but on a limited scale. These were most in evidence among members of the profession themselves, who endorsed the program as a whole. The position of the doctors toward the program was paraphrased by the authors as, "We believe this step is in the right direction. If more of this was done, if it were done more widely, if the few bad apples who spoil the barrel were removed promptly and more consistently regardless of where they might be, if we had a more adequate supply of hospital beds or easier access to those now in use, if our financially successful colleagues didn't enjoy their success so conspicuously, and if we were being augmented by a large flow of professionally-minded young doctors—if all this came to be, we might be able to enjoy life more by seeing more of our families and friends, by lingering longer, by less hurry and strain, less competition and more cooperation; then we could forget about threats of socialized medicine."

The evidence is that the doctors have "missed the mark" with their public relations program. This might have been expected, since the program was established

primarily in the self-interest of the profession rather than for the improvement of the medical services of the community. As Mayer points out, the general public—at least a considerable proportion of the public—does not know the “medical facts of life.” They do not know where to go to get health information; they do not have a crystallized opinion of the quality of medical services in the county. They have few ideas on leadership in medical matters. They do not seem to know what to do if they think a physician takes advantage of them. In these and many more areas, the lack of public information is apparent.

The general level of health and medical care of the survey population was measured by means of the symptoms approach. In Lucas County, 57 per cent of the families received “higher level” health and medical care, and the remaining 43 per cent “lower level” care. Although medical services and facilities were used with great frequency, there were still unmet medical needs especially among families in the lower income groups.

In the opinion of the reviewer, an important lack in the study was the omission of the concept of preventive health practices. The medical population (persons needing medical care) served by the physicians in the county is evidently larger than can be adequately served by the local medical facilities. This dilemma has two possible solutions: One is to increase medical facilities to meet the apparent need. The other solution, conspicuously missing in the study, is to reduce the medical population by the promotion of preventive health information and programs. The latter may be the best and most feasible solution.

The book is clearly written and well organized, with excellent documentation. It serves a threefold purpose: (1) to spread a detailed knowledge of the Toledo Academy's public relations program; (2) to indicate how such programs can be successfully administered and improved; and (3) to improve methodology and stimulate similar research in other areas.

ROBERT E. GALLOWAY.

University of Kentucky.

Resource Conservation: Economics and Policies. By S. V. Ciriacy-Wantrup. Berkeley, California: University of California Press, 1952. Pp. 395. \$6.50.

This book should be of value to members of the economics profession, government executives, legislators, and the broad and highly important group of resource-users

and citizens who are beginning to realize more and more that conservation of resources is of vital interest to them and their country. We owe our high standard of living to our resources; and as our resources become scarcer, conservation becomes more important. This book offers a general basis for understanding the issues involved in conservation.

In his study, Ciriacy-Wantrup explains the distribution of resource use over time in terms of relations between technological knowledge, individual motivation, and social institutions. He examines the economic forces affecting changes in this distribution and discusses criteria for the evaluation of conservation from the private and social point of view. He is interested in establishing an understanding for the formulation of principles and implementation of public policies related to resource conservation.

The book consists of five parts. Part I, which orientates the study, deals with the emergence of the problem, the objectives of the study, the meaning and classification of resources, and the meaning of conservation. Since the economic and social issues in conservation differ between private individuals and society, the author discusses them separately. Parts II and III deal with the private economics of conservation, while Parts IV and V deal with the social economics. The author considers the private issues first, because both the need and the possibilities for public action depend upon the behavior of individual resource-users.

In Part II, the author discusses the behavior of private resource-users with respect to conservation, and defines the optimum state of conservation.

In Part III, the author explains how a state of conservation and its changes come about. He analyzes economic forces such as interest, time preference, income, uncertainty, prices and price supports, property, tenancy, credit, taxation, market form, and economic instability as they influence resource-users and affect conservation.

Part IV deals with the objectives and criteria of public conservation policy. The author concludes that a merely technological or educational approach in conservation policy may be of little avail if the economic forces affecting conservation and depletion are imperfectly understood. He says that natural resources are frequently used wastefully, not because individual resource-users do not know any better, but because they cannot help it under the influence of economic forces.

In Part V, the author discusses means of implementing conservation policy, both domestically and internationally. He shows the importance of educational opportunities but points out the need for understanding the strength and complexity of the economic and social forces surrounding resource-users. He says that, if economic and institutional factors stand in the way, results from education alone will be small. He describes the interrelations of conservation objectives with other objectives such as full employment, international trade, and national security.

In the first chapter, the author discusses the problems of coordinating the activities of federal, state, and local agencies that carry out conservation policy. In the last chapter, he concludes that better coordination of conservation policy requires improvement in the following four directions:

1. Establishing or strengthening overall planning and reviewing agencies in the executive branches of federal and state governments.
2. Consolidating executive activities concerning flow and stock resources in two departments.
3. Consolidating legislative work on flow and stock resources in two legislative committees.
4. Strengthening federal-state and inter-state cooperation.

The economics of resource conservation involves not only an understanding of the relationship between production and consumption within a single generation at a given point of time but also between generations over time. Ciriacy-Wantrup's analysis of this complex problem should help point the way to clearer thinking regarding conservation.

JOSEPH ACKERMAN.

The Farm Foundation.

Vertical Farm Diversification. By D. Howard Doane. Norman, Oklahoma: The University of Oklahoma Press, 1950. Pp. xv + 179. \$2.75.

This book presents a challenging view of an old subject. Horizontal diversification has long been advocated for farmers in order to spread the risks of crop failure, price drops, etc. But the new clothes which Doane has put on "vertical farm diversification" dresses up an old idea so much that we almost forget we are reading about something which many farmers have been doing all down through the years. Vertical farm diversification is presented as a meth-

od of hedging against the risks of higher or lower profit margins at various stages in the marketing of agricultural products. It is presented as a method of enabling a farmer to capture more, if not all, of the consumer's dollar.

All of us are familiar with the farmer who delivers bottled milk to the consumer's doorstep, the housewife with her own special butter mold, and more recently, the cartoned eggs and the packaged fryers—all proudly labeled with the farmer's name or brand. These are examples of vertical farm diversification. But why stop there? Why not Pima River Valley Shirts, Soyol Paints, and South Plains Jeans—products direct from the farm to the consumer?

This method of diversification enables the farmer to tap the retail market instead of always selling his products in the lower-priced wholesale markets. Farmers may also, with full control of their product, produce a high-quality product, process it in the best possible manner, and sell it to the persons who are most willing to pay. The many transactions which are necessary in changing ownership are eliminated, and costs may thus be reduced. This makes for more profit, a better distribution of labor, lower financial risks, and a more stable market for both the producer and the consumer.

Such vertical diversification will require the very best of agricultural and business training. It requires detailed knowledge of production methods. It requires information on processing methods. It requires modern business methods and analysis. Is it no small wonder that the average farmer does not vertically diversify? But since when did we give up just because a little thinking is required? Why can't people be trained in agriculture to run such businesses? Are farm boys less capable of handling vertical farm diversification than horizontal diversification? Are they less able to learn selling methods than they are to learn another production method of another crop on their farms? Why can't our modern farm boys plan a farm to raise "chicken in the basket" just as easily as they can learn to raise hogs and milk cows and grow alfalfa?

When our farmers feel that margins charged for handling their farm products are too high, why not move into that field of production? This simple idea is so fundamental to our free-enterprise system that this book is a most interesting explanation of how competition can be used to bring the improvements necessary to keep our way of life functioning. Reading this book

helps us to realize that there are more rivers to cross and more mountains to climb. The end is not in sight. If you would like to see "vertical farm diversification" in action, stop in at the B-and-B Cafe just north of the Adolphus in Dallas and have dinner with a real honest-to-goodness farmer who practices vertical farm diversification. His fried chicken, country hams, and fresh buttermilk will make you glad there is a farm boy in Dallas following Doane's vertical farm plan.

ARCHIE L. LEONARD.

Texas Technological College.

The Philosophy of Social Work. By Herbert Bisno. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1952. Pp. x + 143. \$3.25.

The author of this little book announces two main purposes: (1) "the formulation and interpretation of those basic concepts, attitudes, and values which underlie the present theory and practice of social work in the United States" (p. ix), and (2) examination of the proposition that "there is a striking divergence between the philosophy of social work and certain crucial philosophical tenets cherished by important elements of the American culture" (p. 126).

How does Bisno go at his tasks? He tells us that the first is "based on explicit statements by leaders in the field" (p. x). But these are not checked against agency policies and operating procedures. Moreover, he is quite frank in admitting that he followed no systematic sampling procedure. Also, he makes it plain that many social workers do not display the "concepts, attitudes, and values" which he considers "basic" (e.g., pp. 3 and 92). Perhaps what the author is presenting are his own views. Certainly this would be legitimate, even praiseworthy, but the offerings should be so labeled. This reviewer feels especially free to make this critical comment, since he finds many, perhaps most, of the author's values quite congenial.

In the second task, Bisno is somewhat more successful. At least he demonstrates that the convictions and goals of some social workers are in sharp conflict with those of some other North Americans who express themselves on the same subjects.

The real contribution of this little volume seems to be that it calls attention vividly to some of the dilemmas, conflicts, and confusion among social workers and between

some of them and some of their sponsors. Some of these discrepancies are suggested by the following phrases: "right to the social services," "right of client self-determination," "relatives' responsibilities," "relief to strikers," "ordering and forbidding," "rugged individualism," "security versus freedom," "absolute unchanging moral principles" (e.g., concerning marriage, divorce, birth control). Finally, there is not even agreement on the proposition that responsibility for welfare of all citizens rests first on the local community and finally on the federal government.

Social workers, in both public and private agencies, in both rural and urban communities, will do well to ponder these conflicts, seek for their sources, and develop plans for dealing with them. But, if they are to find solutions to these problems, they will need to operate more empirically and more systematically.

STUART A. QUEEN.

Washington University, St. Louis.

BOOK NOTES

by the Book Review Editor

Non-Self-Governing Territories, Vol. I. By United Nations. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. Pp. v + 173. \$1.25.

This report contains summaries and analyses of information transmitted to the Secretary-General during 1951. Of special interest to rural sociologists is Part Two, which contains 118 pages of information describing current conditions and the progress of rural programs in the non-self-governing territories of the world. The areas covered are those of education for rural welfare, organization of rural health services, migrant labor, the training of workers, and juvenile delinquency.

The Growing Edge of the Church. By Raymond A. Dudley. New York: Agricultural Missions, Inc., 1951. Pp. 71. No price listed.

This is a collection of stories of the experiences of various mission fields, mission local churches, and individuals. The book contains some good illustrations for ministers and missionaries. The only value it could have for sociologists is as a collection of cases. No attempt was made to analyze these cases sociologically.

BOOKS RECEIVED

- Educational Planning by Neighborhoods in Centralized Districts.* By Paul L. Essert and Robert West Howard. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1952. Pp. ix + 132. \$2.25.
- Financing Higher Education in the United States.* By John D. Millett. New York: Columbia University Press, 1952. Pp. xix + 503. \$5.00.
- The Foreign Trade of Latin America Since 1913.* By the Division of Economic Research, Pan-American Union. Washington, D. C.: The Pan-American Union, 1952. Pp. viii + 216. \$1.00.
- Group Processes in Intergroup Education.* By Jean D. Grambs. New York: The National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1952. Pp. 82. \$0.25.
- An Introduction to Co-operative Practice.* Geneva: The International Labour Office, 1952. Pp. iv + 50. \$0.50.
- The Making of a Southern Industrialist: A Biographical Study of Simpson Bobo Tanner.* By Gerald W. Johnson. Chapel Hill, N. C.: The University of North Carolina Press, 1952. Pp. viii + 84. \$2.00.
- The Modern City: An Introduction to Urban Sociology.* By Svend Riemer. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952. Pp. xi + 477. No price listed.
- Monopoly and Social Control.* By Henry A. Wells. Washington, D. C.: Public Affairs Press, 1952. Pp. ix + 158. \$3.25.
- The Salvage.* By Dorothy Swaine Thomas, with the assistance of Charles Kikuchi and James Sakoda. Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 1952. Pp. xii + 637. \$7.50.
- Teachers and the Community: An In-Service Program in Action.* By Harry Bard. New York: The National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1952. Pp. 53. \$0.25.
- Toward Better Human Relations.* Edited by Lloyd Allen Cook. Detroit: Wayne University Press, 1952. Pp. 121. \$2.50.
- The Untouchables.* By Alfred Maund. Illustrated by Ben Shahn. New Orleans, La.: Southern Conference Educational Fund, Inc., 1952. Pp. 16. No price listed.
- Mortality Trends in the United States, 1900-1949.* By Frank G. Dickinson and Everett L. Welker. Chicago: American Medical Association, 1952. Pp. 32. No price listed.

CURRENT BULLETIN REVIEWS

Edited by T. Wilson Longmore*

The Impact of Fluctuations in National Income on Agricultural Wages and Employment. Howard L. Parsons. Harvard Studies in Labor in Agriculture, No. 1-HL, Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, Mass. 58 pp. June 1952.

The Organizability of Farm Labor in the United States. Alexander Morin. Harvard Studies in Labor in Agriculture, No. 2-HL, Harvard Univ. Press, Cambridge, Mass. 102 pp. June 1952.

Students of farm labor can watch with special interest the project of John D. Black and John T. Dunlop of Harvard University to publish condensed versions of doctoral theses written in the field of agricultural labor. If any proportion of the fourteen announced publications even approaches the constructiveness of the first two, these men are performing an invaluable service. Scientific analysis in this field has lagged far behind that in other phases of economics, and publication of analytical doctoral theses can do a great deal to bring about the development that is needed.

Both theses consist of marshalling and examination of existing data in an effort to arrive at new understandings and new principles. Both are so coolly analytical of ordinarily controversial matters that they carry with them something akin to a detachment from reality. The dynamic and dramatic aspects of the past thirty years of our history—such as wars, droughts, waves of migration, and struggles for economic status—are subordinated to rows of statistical relationships and sequences of economic logic.

In the first of these analyses, Parsons examines the extent to which and the ways in which fluctuations in national income affect farm wages and employment. National income data for 1910 to 1945 are compared with similar series of figures in regard to farm wage rates, farm employment, farm output, net farm income, farm population, net migration to and from farms, and other lines of data. The method puts a heavy burden on the dependability of each of these series of data, but it yields some valuable results.

Rural sociologists will be more interested in the second part of this analysis, especially as it pertains to the cyclical aspects of

rural-urban migration and the supply of farm workers. Space does not permit recapitulation of all the comparisons and chains of logic that lead to such significant generalizations as: "As the employment opportunities in town vary, so does the farm labor supply fluctuate" and "... employment opportunities appear as the significant determinant of change in rate of migration from farms for the years 1920 to 1945." The author found, on the other hand, that fluctuation in relative earnings of workers in town and country apparently was only slightly related to urban movement and the farm labor supply.

In the second of these studies, Morin sets forth the objective as follows: "It is the object of this study to examine the problems of organizability, to test the validity of the industrial-agricultural analogy, and to appraise the possibility of there being created a proletariat of farm workers." The author marshalls an imposing array of pertinent data, but he does not completely achieve his purpose.

A brief history of the organization of farm workers in this and in foreign countries is presented, but the heart of the study is the discussion of some fourteen factors that affect the organizability of farm labor. These factors become most meaningful when applied by the author to specific farming areas in the United States. For example, in the Corn Belt, the Northeastern Dairy Area, and similar sections of the United States, hired workers are closely identified with the operator. They regard hired farm work as a step toward becoming operators themselves; hence they are not interested in unionization. At the other extreme, the areas of high concentration of anonymous workers—the industrialized farming areas of California, Florida, and other states—present conditions similar to those that led to unionization in nonfarm enterprises.

The author points out that full unionization of farm workers will wait on the development of group solidarity among them. The factors listed as weighing against this development, however, loom so large that they seem almost insurmountable obstacles. One of the announced purposes of the study was to appraise the possibility of the growth of a proletariat of farm workers. Whether this is likely to occur is not made clear by the analysis.

*Assisted by Elsie S. Manny.

Topics to be covered by subsequent publications in this series include: Levels of living of farm workers, increase in output per worker, geographic differentials in farm wages, social security, harvest labor in California, and mechanization and use of labor (six separate studies on this latter topic, each covering a different part of the country, are planned).

WILLIAM H. METZLER.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA.

Mental Illness in Washington County, Arkansas: Incidence, Recovery, and Post-hospital Adjustment. Leta McKinney Adler, James W. Coddington, and Donald D. Stewart. Ark. State Hospital, Ark. State Bd. of Health, and Univ. of Ark. Res. Series 23, Fayetteville. 74 pp. July 1952.

"This study is a portion of a broader investigation of mental illness and its treatment in Arkansas. The larger study, known as the Arkansas Mental Health Survey, is a joint undertaking of the Arkansas State Hospital, the State Board of Health, and the University of Arkansas."

An exploratory study of the results of hospitalization for 543 mentally ill of Washington County, Arkansas, formed the basis of this report. It is primarily concerned with the posthospital adjustment of former mental patients in terms of job, community, and home.

"Corollary investigations were conducted (1) to determine certain characteristics of persons admitted to the Hospital and from this the likelihood of admission of various segments of the population; (2) to ascertain the events and conditions which led to commitment; (3) to study mortality rates among released patients and to compare the rates for hospitalized and released patients with those of the general population; (4) to describe the level of recovery of hospitalized patients; (5) to obtain information on the attitudes of the patients' families and friends toward the State Hospital."

Adjustment is an important concept in this study. This being the case, it is well to note the working definition which the authors use. Adjustment is defined as the ability to satisfy wants and face obstacles in effective, socially approved ways without undue inner conflict or conflict with others. In determining whether the patient has been able to readjust after his hospital experience, these areas of his life are considered: (1) economic readjustment; (2)

participation in the formal and informal activities of the community; and (3) readjustment to marriage and family life. Instead of setting up some arbitrary norm of adjustment, a pragmatic test based on the patient's posthospital experience was used. "... if the family and friends of the former patient believe that he has attained a certain level of adjustment, and if they are willing to act with him, and toward him, in terms of this adjustment, then, for most practical purposes, the patient has attained this level of adjustment." This is but another way of saying that, if the former patient is accepted by his family and friends in essentially the same way after hospitalization that he was before the onset of his illness, he has achieved posthospital adjustment.

The authors conclude that: (1) Posthospital study of former mental patients is highly selective and is conditioned by such factors as age, diagnosis, and marital status. (It seems clear to the reviewer that those patients who are aged, or who have severe organic defects as the basis of their psychosis, are less likely to live through hospitalization and into a period of posthospital adjustment.) (2) The incidence of functional psychosis is less in a locality where there is homogeneity of racial and ethnic group membership along with a similarity of group goals and values. (3) The married, persons with strong family ties, and females have the lowest vulnerability to mental illness—also the best prospects for posthospital adjustment and eventual recovery. (4) The aged, the uneducated, and those of low occupational status have the highest vulnerability to mental illness and the poorest prospect for posthospital adjustment. This last conclusion may sound a note of caution to the Extension Service and others interested in lessening the incidence of mental illness among rural people. The problem lies in reaching with a mental health program the poorly educated and those of low occupational status and income. The suggested hypothesis that "withdrawal from school in the early years is associated with later mental illness" is in line with the reviewer's experience in interviewing scores of mental patients during the past year.

Since posthospital adjustment is the major interest of the study, it is not altogether clear why the patients from only one county should be selected in preference to including additional patients from other counties. Were this done, obviously "corollary investigations" would need to be curtailed, but possibly more than 156 patients

with posthospital experience could be included.

It is somewhat unfortunate that the newest classifications of the American Psychiatric Association (see *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders*, American Psychiatric Association, Mental Hospital Service, 1952) were not used, instead of the older 1942 classifications. There is much in this study which will be of interest to those concerned with the welfare of rural people, especially their hospital and posthospital experience. It may come as a surprise to some to learn that many of those who experience mental illness are capable of recovery.

LINDEN S. DODSON.

Silver Spring, Md.

Use of Hospitals by Rural People in Four Mississippi Counties. Robert E. Gallo-way and Harold F. Kaufman. Miss. Agr. Expt. Sta., Circ. 174, State College. 11 pp. July 1952.

This is a report on hospital construction in the state of Mississippi and on research in use of hospitals and factors associated with their use in four counties. The Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA, and the Mississippi Experiment Station cooperated in the study. This study has a counterpart in New York State, carried out by Cornell University and the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, to be published soon.

In 1946, when the National Hospital Survey and Construction Act was passed by Congress, Mississippi had less than two hospital beds per 1,000 population. This proportion was increased to 2.75 beds per 1,000 by 1952 (2.6 according to the bulletin, in which computations may have been on a county-average basis). Beds under construction will increase this ratio to 3.94, which is higher than the standard of 2.5 per 1,000 people for rural areas, set by the U. S. Surgeon General; it almost reaches the goal of 4.5 set for urban areas of the state.

Use of hospitals increased every year between 1945 and 1950 for the families studied. One matter not touched on was the rate of occupancy for the 4,200 beds in 1946 compared with the rate for the 5,766 beds in 1952. Shortages of hospital personnel were indicated through the Mississippi State Hospital Association's inventory in 30 leading hospitals. There is a good chance that, due to the survey method,

these shortages—when expressed as unmet needs ranging from 50 per cent for registered laboratory technicians to 81 per cent for registered x-ray technicians—may have been exaggerated.

In terms of distance, hospitals were less accessible to rural than to urban people. There was a consistent trend toward greater use of hospitals as the social and economic level increased and, as schooling increased, for mothers to give birth in hospitals. Negroes, though less likely to enter hospitals, stayed longer than others. They tended to enter only for more serious types of illness, which may mean that earlier and more frequent hospitalization could raise the level of health without necessarily increasing the total amount of hospitalization. One should add that it appears Negroes enter hospitals much later in the history of a medical condition, and thus a longer time is required for recovery if it occurs.

Other factors such as age, sex, and residence were discussed in relation to hospital use. The data presented indicate the association between the various factors and hospital use rather than the influence these factors had on use.

About one-quarter of the individuals studied in the four counties had some amount of hospital insurance. There was a consistent increase in the proportion of white families with insurance as the social and economic level increased. Over twice as many nonfarm families as farm families had insurance. The following statement probably gives too much credit to insurance for increasing hospital use: "The high relationship of insurance and use suggests the former definitely influences the latter."

The data presented, in general, bear out findings in other states. The publication has two admirable characteristics which should be mentioned: It concentrates on a single area in health—hospitals; and the material is well integrated and easily understood.

The study points up the need for research which seeks causal relationships and utilizes information such as this as a necessary foundation. It is essential to learn what the function of a hospital is in a community and how its use is related to the social structure.

WALTER E. BOEK.

New York State Department of Health.

Health and Medical Care Practices of Rural Families in Three Indiana Counties, 1950. Harold E. Smith. Ind. Agr. Expt. Sta., Mimeo. EC-69, Lafayette. 21 pp. May 1952.

The extent of use of selected health and medical care practices by rural people in three counties of Indiana is presented in this preliminary report. Data as to attitudes relative to health care practices and community health needs are also given. A later report will provide an analysis of "health related factors."

Data were obtained by an enumerative survey of rural families living in geographic areas. Areas for study were selected systematically from a list of all rural portions of each county. Trained interviewers were used.

Information on the use of services of physicians and of dentists was obtained for the six-month period preceding the survey. About 3 out of every 4 rural families had used a physician for one or more members, and 4 of every 10 had used a dentist for one or more adult members during the six months. Slightly more than one in every three families had used a hospital during the "year or two" before the study. Other health practices, directly or indirectly related to individuals, included in the study were: use of maternal and child health services, immunizations, pasteurization of milk, testing of cattle for Bang's disease, and rabies control. About one in every three families reported that one or more of the members had some hospital insurance.

This report is a definite contribution to a field of sociological concern—acceptance and rejection of health practices by people. It will be useful for research and teaching purposes as well as for professional and lay leaders in health care activities. The data concerning extent of use of health care practices are greatly enhanced by the attitudinal information relative to each of the health practices studied. Information is concisely presented, with generous use of specific data that can be compared with findings from other similar studies. In this connection, it will be helpful if the later report provides data on extent of use of practices by individuals, wherever pertinent, as well as by families. Information as to rates of use of dentist and hospital services by individuals and by families—as well as rates for use of physicians by families, as given in the present report—should be useful for making comparisons with other studies that have different periods of coverage.

The implications of the findings in the report will be particularly useful for health education in direct application by readers, and in the educational efforts of health agencies, Extension Service, farm organizations, and other community groups.

DONALD G. HAY.

Cornell University.

The People of Washington, 1890-1950. Paul H. Landis. Wash. Agr. Expt. Sta. Bull. 535, Pullman. 35 pp. June 1952.

As the title reveals, this bulletin contains a statement of population trends in the state of Washington. It is a brief, popularly written, and well-illustrated description of the people of one state. The theme of change is carried throughout each of the major sections, which deal with rural and urban growth, age and sex composition, vital indices, and migration. An appendix, "Washington's Rank Among the States," is included.

It is the opinion of the reviewer that Landis has succeeded in producing a masterpiece for the layman—which undoubtedly was his objective. He has selected his data carefully and used them sparingly. The introductions, "settings," and incidental interest materials will forestall any charge that this population bulletin is "dry as dust."

While the reviewer believes that any publication must be evaluated in terms of the intended objective, it must be said that there is little here in the way of new analytical techniques or descriptive details likely to interest the demographer or population expert. A minimum of 1950 population data, especially with regard to age and sex composition, has been used. Census sources are generally omitted, and the reviewer must assume that footnote 10, "Detailed census breakdown by age groups for 1950 had not been published at the time of this writing," means that no Volume II data were used. One is led to question the urgency of publication without more extensive analysis of age characteristics, for example, in a state that has gained 37 per cent within a decade.

Other professional workers in the field of population might be expected to be interested in procedures utilized in adjusting for under-registration of birth. One searches vainly, however, in the discussion of natural increase since 1920 and in the section on net migration, for information re-

garding adjustments. One must conclude that such adjustments were not made.

J. ALLAN BEEGLE.

Michigan State College.

Israel: Jewish Population and Immigration.

Norman Lawrence. International Population Statistics Reports, Series P-90, No. 2. U. S. Bur. of the Census, Washington. 58 pp. 1952.

Anyone interested in population phenomena will certainly find this report interesting, because of the many unique features of Israel's population. Also, the text of the report is considerably more interpretive and readable than those of most of the regular census reports.

About 90 per cent of the present population of Israel is Jewish, and the analysis presented is largely devoted to this group, partly because of the availability of data. Four out of five of these Jews were born in other countries, and one out of two immigrated to Israel in the past four years.

Israel stands in sharp contrast to its neighboring Arab countries in many respects. Its age-specific death rates are lower than those in the United States for every five-year age group from 15 to 70 years. The expectation of life at birth is about the same as in this country. About four-fifths of the people live in urban centers and only 14 per cent of the workers are employed in agriculture.

Section VI of this report is entitled, "Absorption of Immigrants." The first act of the Israeli Government, after its establishment in May, 1948, was to abolish restrictions on Jewish immigration. This resulted in a doubling of the Jewish population within four years. Settlement, housing, employment, and social aspects of absorption of immigrants are discussed in this section, which has special interest for sociologists.

The Bureau of the Census is to be commended for having established an Office of International Statistics and this new series of reports on the population of other countries.

MARGARET JARMAN HAGOOD.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA.

Acceptance of Improved Farm Practices in Three Coastal Plain Counties. Eugene A. Wilkening. N. C. Agr. Expt. Sta. Tech. Bull. 98, Raleigh. 75 pp. May 1952.

This bulletin, by the co-chairman of the Rural Sociological Society's *ad hoc* Sub-

committee on the Diffusion and Adoption of Farm Practices, explores the problem in North Carolina. Eleven farm practices are considered, ranging from use of organic dust for boll-weevil control to adoption of enterprises to supplement the traditional tobacco, cotton, and corn programs. "Acceptance" is defined as constituting both approval and adoption of a practice (in most instances consisting of use of the practice during the year of the survey). By giving all practices an equal weight of 1 and computing percentages based on all practices applicable to each operator, the author developed a rough "index of adoption" and an "index of attitudes."

"Other farmers" were found to be important sources of "most information" about new practices, particularly among "late adopters" and those of lower socio-economic status. For this latter group, the radio was second as an information source, followed by agricultural agencies, farm journals and newspapers, and commercial dealers. Among those with the highest socio-economic status, agricultural agencies were first, followed by other farmers; the radio was least named as a source by them.

Neighborhoods with the highest index of adoption were those where average-sized farms predominated, families had an above-average level of living (measured by a scale of ten items, each having a weight of 1), and status differences were not extreme. Adoption was found to be positively related to ownership, size of farm, participation in farm organizations and programs, level of living, and education; but it did not show a consistent association with age. The direction of relationship between these factors and attitude toward adoption was the same, but the association was not so marked. Analysis of variance for several factors (age, level of living, favor toward institutionalized agencies of farm information, tenure, and acres of cropland) showed little interaction among them (it might have been different if education had been included). Further statistical manipulation revealed that age was significantly related to adoption (negatively) when the other factors were held constant.

Since the index of adoption and the index of attitudes showed a positive correlation of only .44, each was treated as a separate dependent variable. The reviewer would have been interested in a comparison of the independent variables of those falling into the four categories represented by the simultaneous breakdown of cases by adoption and attitudes. One wonders, for example, about the information sources, not

just of those who adopt a practice as compared with those who do not, but of those who neither adopt nor favor a practice.

Only two minor faults weaken an otherwise scholarly publication. A "technical bulletin" would seem to demand a somewhat more precise statement of methodology (e.g., the sample was confined to those receiving "most" of their gross cash income from farming). In addition, there are a number of editorial lapses, including percentages quoted in the text which do not agree with those in the tables and two incorrect citations of one of the author's own publications.

DUANE L. GIBSON.

Michigan State College.

How County Agricultural Agents Teach.

John T. Stone. Mich. State College Ext. Serv., East Lansing. 31 pp. (Mimeo.) 1952.

The author describes the teaching job of the county agent by describing seven roles of the agent, from the initial stage of a project to major activity to the final stage when it is a minor activity in the total extension program. This analysis is a new approach that has significance for the training of extension workers and for further study of the job of the county agent.

The artificial breeding project for dairy cattle was selected as typical for plotting a curve to characterize the work pattern of the county agent. The amount of time devoted to this project annually, as reported by 18 agents for eight years, was plotted on a median curve. Likewise, seven other projects were analyzed and a curve was constructed for each. Curves for the eight projects were characterized by the same general shape, despite differences in the nature and time span of the project. An average curve for the eight projects resembled very closely the one for the artificial breeding project.

The study is based on 132 personal interviews with county agricultural agents in Michigan and 490 daily diaries kept by 32 Michigan and Minnesota agents during a period of one year. Seven main occupational roles were defined and used to classify the project teaching activities. The major roles were broken down into minor classifications of the use of time.

The first role of the county agent was that of *student* and consisted of study and other activities mainly to obtain knowledge

for his own satisfaction or to help solve a problem of the people. As *public program administrator*, he planned and coordinated the extension program, performed administrative functions, and carried on certain public relations activities. To interest people in new ideas or practices, the agent was a *salesman of information or ideas* bringing new knowledge and understanding through individual and group contacts and mass media. A fourth role was that of *organizer and supervisor of events* to bring people together for an exchange of ideas at meetings, demonstrations, achievement days, and tours. As an *organizer of groups* for action to solve problems or to allow individuals to benefit from desirable new ideas or practices, he helped and encouraged them to form an organization. Acting in the role of *facilitator-expediter*, the agent tried to make it as easy as possible for the people to make the desired changes. In the last stage of the project, the agent served as a *consultant* on request, giving advice, making recommendations, and counseling with individuals or groups.

TIME DEVOTED ANNUALLY TO MAJOR OCCUPATIONAL ROLES

Role	Per cent of total work time
Consultant.....	24
Public program administrator..	24
Salesman of information and ideas.....	17
Organizer and supervisor of events.....	16
Organizer of groups.....	7
Student.....	7
Facilitator-expediter.....	5
	100

Stone shows graphically the relationship between the various kinds of projects being carried on simultaneously. The way in which projects and activities are eliminated by gradual reduction in the amount of time devoted to them is illustrated. In a brief discussion and chart the author discusses his own ideas about how the county agent's work load develops. The publication ends with a short discussion of extension programs.

J. L. MATTHEWS.

Extension Service, USDA.

The Growth of Organizations in Which Farm People Take Part in Illinois, 1930 to 1950-51. D. E. Lindstrom. Ill. Agr. Expt. Sta., RSM-26, Urbana. 33 pp. Oct. 1952.

The organizations referred to in the title of this bulletin are: Farm Bureau, Grange, rural Parent-Teacher's Association, Home Bureau, 4-H Club, Rural Youth (older), and Future Farmer and Future Homemakers groups. Since the reference to taking part is confined to membership, the title of the bulletin appears to be somewhat broader than the data actually presented.

"The purpose of the present study is to present a graphic picture of the growth of membership in these organizations." However, membership as such is not defined in the study, the data being taken without appraisal directly from state-level organization records. For most of the organizations, state data are presented annually for the period from 1930 through 1950. Data for the counties are presented for 1930, 1940, and 1950.

Memberships are related to the number of farms in the state as a means of showing variations in time and variations by county or type-of-farming area. This is, as the author recognized, a major weakness in the report, because a sizeable part of the membership of some of these organizations is composed of rural-nonfarm people—the proportion of whom is unknown, or at least is not presented.

The following is a very brief tabular summary of the data presented for the state:

Organization	1930	1940	1950
Farm Bureau . . .	57,641	73,610	180,970
Grange	*5,727	7,388	12,257
Home Bureau . . .	10,435	18,540	57,706
Rural PTA	7,508	13,797	55,609
4-H Club	16,901	36,010	55,246
Older Youth**	***5,874	9,811
FFA	3,874	10,787	16,383
FHA	3,152	16,120	22,200

*1934

**"Older Rural Youth" groups.

***1942.

The twin problems of the *why* and the *so what* of the data presented are not tackled in this study. Perhaps the data did not lend themselves to an analysis of the *why*, but it seems incumbent upon any sociologist to state the meaning of his findings for both theory and research.

The last statement is mitigated somewhat by a conclusion in the final paragraph of the report: "... all of them [organizations] are in some way affiliated with or sponsored by state-wide organizations or agencies. The constant pressure for membership and the help given by these overhead groups is no doubt responsible for much of the growth."

Two other major questions are left unanswered, even though answers are alluded to in more than one place. These two questions might be stated as, (1) How much increase has there been in total participation in the affairs, including policy formation, of these organizations by farm people? (2) Has there been an increase in organization participation, or do these data represent simply a shift in type of organization in which farm people participate to the extent of holding memberships?

SELZ C. MAYO.

North Carolina State College.

Participation in the Rural Church. John A. Hostetler and William G. Mather. Penn. Agr. Expt. Sta., Paper No. 1762, Journal Series, State College. 64 pp. Oct. 1952.

This report summarizes research data concerning participation in the rural church. A large number of research studies were consulted for findings pertinent to the subject. Many of them are agricultural experiment station research reports. Only a few of the studies were actually focused on the rural church. However, the importance of the rural church as a community institution has led most students of rural social participation to include data on religious activities.

It is apparent that this study has been carefully and thoroughly done. In addition to published materials, many unpublished manuscripts were consulted. A total of ninety-eight footnote references in the text enable the reader to refer readily to the original sources. The various research studies cover a wide range of geographic and social areas, making the findings quite comprehensive.

The conclusions reached in this bulletin indicate a significant positive association between participation and femininity, older age, nearness to the church building, prosperity of the community, long residence in the area, ownership of real estate, higher income, higher social class position, membership in the dominant race or nationality, membership in a church family, higher education, more desirable occupation, adequate housing, and participation in nonre-

ligious organizations. The authors state that they found some of the associations more clear-cut than others, but they were able to give documentary support for all of the conclusions stated.

Some of the findings will be especially important to church leaders who must plan rural church programs. The predominance of women participating in church activities would seem to reflect the nature of the programs that prevail in rural churches. The tendency for older people to participate more than younger persons indicates that the rural church is geared to the needs of the older age group or that more mobile younger people have a wider choice of activities. The relative lack of participation by people of lower social class and lower income has caused increasing concern to rural church leaders. The social character of Protestant church functions makes it difficult to bridge the gap of diverse social interests.

It is to be hoped that the data supplied by this bulletin will cause rural church leaders to give energetic attention to a number of problems that thus far have been neglected.

JOHN BAXTER HOWES.

Westminster Theological Seminary,
Westminster, Maryland.

Collection Methods in Dietary Surveys.

Janet Murray, Ennis C. Blake, Dorothy Dickens, and Ada M. Moser. Southern Cooperative Series Bull. 23, S. C. Agr. Expt. Sta., Clemson. 66 pp. Apr. 1952.

Two methods of obtaining data on family food consumption are described in this report. Data were obtained from comparable groups of families in South Carolina and Mississippi in connection with a study of farm family food consumption conducted, in 1948, by the Bureau of Human Nutrition and Home Economics and six state experiment stations.

The survey sought to determine whether more accurate returns were obtained by the record method (asking families to record weight of all food on hand at the beginning and end of a week and all food brought home through that week) than by the simpler list method (interviewing the homemaker, using a detailed food list for reference, so as to list the kinds and quantities of food used in the week just ended). This study showed that, for the groups of families covered, the list method yielded results quite similar to the more time-consuming record method.

The authors are aware of the "pitfalls and problems encountered in the conduct of food consumption surveys by both the recall and record methods." Food items of high "prestige" value in the minds of the respondents may be overestimated. List families in Mississippi reported significantly larger consumption of oranges than record families, suggesting that the former reported as a fact what they wished or desired. When the record method is used, the "prestige" factor may operate also, through a change in the family's food practices during the week in which records are kept. In South Carolina, it appeared that the record method understated the consumption of sugars and sweets, perhaps because of failure to record all candy consumed.

That both methods require skill in application is emphasized in the report. Enumerators need careful training and an awareness of the kinds of problems that may arise under special local conditions. The groups covered in this study were rural families with relatively low money income compared with most families in the United States. Further research is needed before it can be determined whether the results would be similar for other population groups.

ELSIE S. MANNY.

Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA.

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NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

Edited by Samuel W. Blizzard

COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

Butler University. Franklin E. Rector has been granted leave of absence for the spring semester to complete his dissertation for the doctorate at the University of Wisconsin.

University of Chicago. Everett C. Hughes has been appointed chairman of the Department of Sociology to succeed Ernest W. Burgess. Hughes, a member of the University of Chicago faculty since 1938, is the fifth head of the department, which dates back to the opening year of the University of Chicago. Burgess, who headed the department from 1946 to his retirement last year, is continuing his research in the university's new Family Study Center.

Cornell University. The Department of Rural Sociology has moved into its new quarters in the recently completed addition to Warren Hall.

The department will have teaching and research assistantships open for 1953-54. Application should be made to the department head. Graduate students majoring in rural sociology are also eligible to compete for Junior Graduate Fellowships (at \$1,000 plus tuition) and Senior Graduate Fellowships (at \$1,800 to \$2,000 plus tuition), which are a part of an expanded graduate fellowship program recently announced by the university. Application for these new awards and for university tuition scholarships and special fellowships should be made through the Graduate School.

Olaf F. Larson, who returned to duty after a year's leave of absence as Fulbright research scholar in Norway, is acting head in Polson's absence. While in Norway, Larson was affiliated with the *Institutt for Sosiologi* at the University of Oslo and gave seminars at the Norwegian College of Agriculture. He also received a traveling fellowship from the New York College of Agriculture for study in Denmark, Finland, and Sweden. Two research studies were started in cooperation with Norwegian farm organizations, and pilot phases were completed: One was a study of selective migration and occupational choices of rural youth; the other was a study of use of leisure time by rural youth. A general study was made of agricultural policy in the four northern countries.

The monograph "Ten Years of Rural Rehabilitation in the United States," by Lar-

son and others, originally issued by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics, USDA, has now been reissued in abridged form by the Indian Society of Agricultural Economics, Bombay, India.

Howard E. Thomas was on leave during September and October serving as executive director of a New York joint legislative committee on migratory farm labor. Since November 1, he has been on leave as specialist on education of migrant children, Office of Education, Federal Security Agency, where he will complete work which he initiated during a previous leave.

Martin L. Cohnstaedt, who has been doing graduate work at the University of Wisconsin, joined the staff as instructor for the 1952-53 academic year. William E. Keller and Robert Gilpin are new assistants. Paul Marsh has been awarded the \$1,000 Henry Strong Denison graduate fellowship in agriculture for the second year.

W. A. Anderson's short form of the scale on the values in rural living is being widely used, especially by vocational agriculture and social science teachers in high schools, and by some 4-H Club leaders. Permission has been requested to use it in Canada, England (by the National Federation of Young Farmers' Clubs), Germany, and Sweden. The latest request for permission for its use is from Japan, where the Institute for Science of Labor wishes to use it in a number of farming districts. A brief bulletin summarizing the general findings of the New York studies on the values in rural living will be off the press shortly. Also, the Agricultural Experiment Station will soon issue two memoirs by Anderson, on "Rural Social Participation" and "The Family Life Cycle."

W. W. Reeder is starting an experiment station project to study program planning procedures in rural groups.

Mary Eva Duthie has been reelected secretary of the New York State Community Theatre Association.

James R. White, P. T. Taietz, and W. W. Reeder will teach in the 1953 Cornell Summer School.

William Folkman, who received his Ph.D. in June, has accepted an appointment at the University of Arkansas. Sherman Fitzgerald, who received his Ph.D. in September, has joined the Department of Sociology at the University of Maryland.

Kent State University. *Rural Reading Habits* is the title of a study directed by Paul Houser and published recently by the Agricultural Experiment Station of the University of Maryland. In this study, Houser had the cooperation of Robert Galloway of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and Harold Hoffsommer of the Department of Sociology at the University of Maryland.

Paul Oren, assistant professor of sociology, is spending the academic year on leave as a post-doctoral Fulbright research fellow at the University of Paris. He is making a study of an aspect of the socialization of the child in French society.

Oscar Ritchie, assistant professor, is on leave of absence for the academic year 1952-53, for study and research at New York University.

Graduate assistants in the department for this year are Everett Crawford, a graduate of Ohio Wesleyan, and Bernard Wrenn, who did his undergraduate work at West Virginia Institute of Technology.

Ambrose DeFlumere, graduate assistant in the department from 1950 to 1952, has accepted a position with Cottey College in Nevada, Missouri.

George Masterton of the University of Nottingham, England, is visiting assistant professor in the department for 1952-53.

University of Kentucky. Ward W. Bauder, professor of rural sociology, has resigned to accept an appointment at the University of Illinois.

Michigan State College. Through the Social Research Service and the Area Research Center the department has available several research assistantships for the academic year 1953-54. Also, several teaching assistantships are available. These assistantships carry a stipend of \$1200 to \$1400, in addition to tuition fees, for graduate students who qualify as candidates for the Ph.D. degree. Applications should be sent to the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

Raymond Scheele returned to the campus in September after a leave of absence of a year. He spent the year in Latin America working under the auspices of the Michigan State College Area Research Center in cooperation with the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences at Turrialba, Costa Rica. In November, Scheele left for Brazil to make a study for the Area Research Center, under contract with the U. S. State Department. Thomas Blair, a graduate assistant in the department, is assisting Scheele with the project. It is expected that the

field work in Brazil can be completed in about six months.

John Useem and Ruth Useem, who are spending this year in India, are making a study for the Hazen Foundation, under contract with the Area Research Center. They will return in September. The purpose of the study is to evaluate the effect of education in colleges and universities of the United States and Europe on natives of India who have attended these colleges.

Olen E. Leonard is spending the academic year 1952-53 at the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences in Costa Rica. Leonard will continue the work in Rural Sociology and Anthropology which was begun by Charles P. Loomis in 1950-1951 and carried on by Scheele in 1951-1952, for the Michigan State College Area Research Center. Leonard is being assisted in Costa Rica by Charles Proctor, Frank Nall, and Manuel Alers-Montalvo, who are graduate assistants in the department.

Roy Clifford, formerly assistant professor at Vanderbilt University and an associate sociologist at the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences, has been appointed assistant professor in the department for the academic year 1952-1953 on a part-time basis. Harry K. Dansereau, who is completing work for the Ph.D. degree, was appointed instructor on a part-time basis for the same period.

In September, 1952, the Social Research Service in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology received from the cities of Lansing and East Lansing a grant of \$10,400 to conduct studies in urban integration. An additional purpose of the survey is to collect data which will be useful in developing a census tract plan for the city. The following staff members constitute the committee in charge of this project: J. A. Beegle, C. P. Loomis, Joel Smith, David Steinicke, Gregory Stone, John F. Thaden, and William H. Form (chairman). Also involved in the study are Jack DeLora and James Cowhig, graduate assistants in the department.

For the continuation of the project dealing with the study of social processes in a community self-survey, the Social Research Service has received a grant of \$12,000 from the Health Information Foundation, New York. During the current year, an inventory of health action will be made in Lenawee County where the survey was done. One purpose of the continuation study is to determine the extent to which health action might be related to the self-survey. Staff members in charge of the project are J. A.

Beegle, Walter Freeman, C. R. Hoffer, C. P. Loomis, Paul Miller, David Steinicke, John F. Thaden, John Holland (co-chairman), and Christopher Sower (chairman).

During the current academic year, D. L. Gibson is serving as chairman of the project "Social Strengths in Mental Health," which is financed by the National Mental Health Institute. The committee responsible for this project is John Useem (on leave), C. P. Loomis, D. L. Gibson, Gregory Stone, Joe Mills, and William Thomas (clinical psychologist). Chandler Washburne was appointed as research assistant and Robert H. Hicks as graduate research assistant on the project, September 1, 1952.

On January 1, 1953, Charles Westie, who is completing work for the Ph.D. degree at Ohio State University, joined the staff of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology as assistant professor, to carry on extension work in industrial relations. He will be technically responsible to the department but will work in the Continuing Education Service, to which he will be administratively responsible.

The committee members of several recent research projects in the fields of community organization and social action are conducting a staff seminar. The purpose of this seminar is to develop a theoretical integration of the research the department has done in these fields and to devise a more adequate theoretical design for future research.

Graduate students in the department who have recently accepted positions elsewhere are: Dean Epley, Memphis State College; Sheldon Lowry, North Carolina State College; and Wayne Rohrer, University of Maryland.

Beginning with the winter quarter, 1953, the department introduced a new course entitled, "Small Group Interaction."

The University of North Carolina. Under a grant from the Health Information Foundation, the Institute for Research in Social Science is conducting a community health study of Salem, Massachusetts, under the joint direction of Cecil Sheps (M.D.) and Floyd Hunter. Ruth Connor is field investigator.

John J. Honigmann, research associate in the Institute for Research in Social Science, has been in Pakistan since July 1, engaged in a study of intercultural communication through films, financed by the U. S. State Department and sponsored by the institute.

Beate R. Salz is assistant professor of anthropology and research associate in the

Institute for Research in Social Science for 1952-1953. She is filling the unexpired appointment of William D. Schorger on a Ford Foundation grant.

Harvey L. Smith, Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Chicago, who has joined the university faculty as research associate professor of health planning in the Division of Health Affairs, has been appointed a research associate in the Institute for Research in Social Science.

Pennsylvania State College. Seth W. Russell, chairman of the Department of Sociology and assistant dean of the School of Liberal Arts, has been elected president of the Pennsylvania Sociological Society.

A seminar on Community Development was held, February 3, under the sponsorship of the Social Science Research Center in cooperation with "The People Act" Educational Center at the Pennsylvania State College. Elmore McKee, director of "The People Act" radio program, and Milton S. Eisenhower, president of the college and chairman of the national sponsoring committee for "The People Act," addressed the seminar.

University of Tennessee. The Chestuee Watershed Project, an experiment and demonstration of a self-inventory and a self-improvement program, has been started. About one thousand farm families are co-operating in the project under the direction of L. J. Strickland. The project is expected to continue for fifteen or twenty years.

Central University of Venezuela, Caracas, Venezuela. A new Department of Sociology and Cultural Anthropology in the Division of Economic and Social Sciences has been established. A major in the fields of sociology and cultural anthropology, consisting of 72 semester hours over a four-year period within the department and 48 hours in other departments and divisions of the university, will be offered. The four-year course of study will lead to the *Licenciatura* and the five-year course of study to the *Doctorado*.

To augment the local staff, Thomas L. Norris and Norman W. Painter have recently arrived from Michigan State College. Norris will concentrate in the fields of Cultural Anthropology and Social Psychology, and Painter in Social Theory, Social Disorganization, and Population Problems. George W. Hill will act as head of the department while continuing his functions as advisor to the government on social and population problems.

The department offers research opportunities for both the staff and students. Two research projects are being initiated in selected areas of the capital city, Caracas: one in Juvenile Delinquency and the other in the Social Dynamics of Group-Housing.

The address is: Departamento de Sociología y Antropología Cultural, Facultad de Ciencias Económicas y Sociales, Ciudad Universitaria, Residencia No. 1, Caracas, Venezuela, South America.

Western Reserve University. A grant of \$50,700 from the Russell Sage Foundation has been made to the School of Applied Social Sciences. The funds will be used for a program to enrich the present curriculum at the School of Applied Social Sciences, through closer relation of the social sciences to the practice of social work.

As a result of the foundation grant, the school will be able to add a social scientist to its full-time faculty, for an initial period of three years. Holding the rank of visiting professor of social science, the additional staff member will be a teacher and consultant both in the regular master's program and on the doctoral level. The main function of the visiting expert will be to introduce into the applied social science curriculum current material and points of view from cultural anthropology, social psychology, political science, and economics. The new program is scheduled to begin with the fall semester in 1953.

Grace L. Coyle, professor of social group work, has been named to head the faculty committee that will work with the visiting professor in setting up the special program.

RURAL SOCIOLOGY IN GERMANY

W. H. Stacy has sent the following news notes with reference to new developments in rural sociology in Germany:

German leaders report that no university faculty has a professor of rural sociology. There are more professors than ever before who are interested in dealing with the sociological aspects of rural problems. This is intensified by the low standards of living on small farms, refugee resettlement problems, the agricultural labor conditions, the need for developing effective citizenship programs, and other difficult situations with which Germany is faced. As a result, new programs are being established. Four aspects of the situation are of special interest to rural sociologists in the United States:

1. **Agrarsoziale Gesellschaft.** During the winter of 1949-50, a group of leaders

formed this organization which is comparable in many respects to the American Country Life Association. One of its aims is expressed in terms of "awakening consciousness in the fact that the whole society is indivisible." It promotes working relationships among those dealing with rural social problems and influencing public policy. Funds from memberships are supplemented by federal appropriations. The United States has also contributed financial support through the HICOG program. A central office, with P. Schilke serving as executive secretary, is maintained at Goettingen, Woehler Str 3, the location of Professor Wilhelm Abel's Institute of Agrarpolitik of Goettingen University. Its work is developed through:

- a. Publishing a quarterly journal (*Schriftenreihe fuer Laendliche Sozialfragen*) and a monthly mimeographed newsletter to members and friends.
- b. Holding an annual spring conference and conducting special work conferences.
- c. Bringing leaders of different programs together and providing counseling services.
- d. Helping develop rural social studies.

2. **Forschungsgesellschaft fuer Agrarpolitik und Agrarsoziologie.** During the last year, a new society with the particular purpose of promoting scientific rural sociological research has been established by agriculturists, social scientists, pedagogues, and others; most of them are professors or assistant professors in agricultural faculties of German universities. The leader, Constantin v. Dietze, worked at the Wisconsin State College of Agriculture, Madison, for a few months recently. The *Forschungsgesellschaft* is very much like the Rural Sociological Society. It may be noted that most of the younger members of the *Forschungsgesellschaft* have received part of their sociological education in the United States or by work with American sociologists in Germany.
3. **Community Studies.** New beginnings have been made in developing empirical research dealing with social problems.

- a. Monographs are now in print reporting ten segments of a pioneering Middletown type of opinion-and-fact-gathering study of the people who live in Darmstadt and its surrounding area. These will be combined in a single volume to be published in English next spring. German leaders for the work include: Theodore W. Adorno and Frederick Pollock, Institute for Social Research, University of Frankfurt; and Max Rolfes, Institute for the Study of Farm Management, Justus Liebig Hochschule, Giessen.
- b. Village Studies. Beginning in January, 1952, each of twelve agricultural institute faculties had a man living for one year in a rural village community for the purpose of studying factors in representative situations, with special reference to small farmers and changes that have taken place since 1945. The information obtained will be consolidated and published in a manner similar to the reports of rural social organization studies conducted in representative rural counties in the United States. These studies are sponsored by the *Forschungsgesellschaft fuer Agrarpolitik und Agrarsoziologie*.
- c. Home Economics Studies. New research projects initiated by the *Institut fuer Wirtschaftslehre und Soziologie*, Bad-Godesberg, include a study of woman labor on farms and a study of methods of extension education.
- d. UNESCO Social Studies. Cologne is the center for an international institute for social studies which has recently been established by UNESCO in cooperation with the German Federal Republic.
- e. University Programs. The School of Education in the University of Hamburg is developing pioneering work related to the teaching of social studies. Other universities have professors of sociology who give attention to rural situations. Moreover, social aspects of rural life are treated in agricultural

institute faculties by professors in the related disciplines of farm management and agricultural policy.

4. **Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft Concepts.** These two words are in common usage in Germany. It is generally recognized that *Gemeinschaft* relationships carry with them a "togetherness of spirit," while a *Gesellschaft* group may be characterized by the impersonal, corporate type of association. As stated by a leader in rural social studies: "*Gemeinschaft* views are primarily based upon emotions. They depend upon emotional concepts and relationships. These we don't want to lose. But they are dangerous when promoted by those interested in gaining or maintaining power controls. *Gesellschaft* views are based upon reason—they are objective and rational. It is our task to more clearly understand specific factors in a situation—to develop more of the *Gesellschaft* way of thinking."

These concepts gain significance when it is noted that *Gemeinschaft* relationships are being seriously affected by changes that have been taking place in Germany since World War II. Critical needs are developing for the *Gesellschaft* type of contribution, which means social research at basic points. This challenge is readily discernible with respect to four facts that have been major elements of strength in rural social life in Germany up to now:

- a. Family Relationships. The impact of urbanization on family groups has been intensified in Germany by the housing situation. Most families have had to provide accommodations for refugees or others whose homes were destroyed by the war. Crowded conditions have made the development of normal family living next to impossible in millions of homes.
- b. *Bauernrum*. This is one of the German words so difficult to translate into English, for it is a concept that covers "all of agricultural life—the people, their values and their resources." At the center is the farmer, "whose family for several generations has lived on the same farm and developed a great attachment to

his acres, his children, his family and his God." Industrialization, increasing attention to materialistic things, and shifting populations are breaking down these elements in the fabric of rural social life.

- c. **Village Community Relationships.** Historically, the agricultural village has been a closely knit, largely self-sufficient community of families sharing their experiences. In Germany, these have been closely related to the program of the village church, with its homogeneous constituency. Since 1945, a large proportion of German villages have more than doubled their population, because of the influx of refugees. Also, rural people are finding themselves in a new type of market-price regime, with the impact of mechanization and industrialization affecting their old value systems.
- d. **National Spirit.** In the United States, there is great emphasis—especially in election years—on a spirit of national patriotism. Nazism went to the extreme of featuring the "blood and soil of the fatherland." Military defeat brought with it a division of the country, the adoption of a flag which some associate with failures of the Weimar Republic, combative philosophies of political parties, divisive feeling between millions who lost heavily and others who survived with relatively little sacrifice, and, perhaps most important, a feeling that the future is uncertain.

CONFERENCES AND ASSOCIATIONS

Eastern Sociological Society. The 1953 annual meeting of the society will be held on March 28 and 29 at Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Headquarters will be in Emerson Hall.

Sections will include the following:

Contributed Research Papers, under the chairmanship of Edward Devereux, Cornell University.

Relationships of Sociology and Psychiatry, arranged by A. B. Hollingshead, Yale University.

Studies of Social Organization, arranged by Ira de A. Reid, Haverford College.

Studies of the Soviet Union, arranged by Alex Inkeles, Harvard University.

A demonstration tour of the Laboratory of Social Relations at Harvard is planned. The annual dinner will be held on Saturday evening, with an address by Wilbert Moore, Princeton University, president of the society.

Dinner reservations, hotel information, and other details of the meeting may be secured from Joseph A. Kahl, chairman, Committee on Local Arrangements, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Annual dues of \$2.00 may be paid to the secretary-treasurer, Vincent H. Whitney, Brown University, Providence 12, Rhode Island.

National Council on Family Relations. The annual conference of the council will be held at the Kellogg Center for Continuing Education, East Lansing, Michigan, September 1-3, 1953. Further information may be obtained by writing to the National Council on Family Relations, 5757 South Drexel Avenue, Chicago, Illinois.

National Training Laboratory in Group Development. The annual three-week summer laboratory session will be held at Gould Academy, Bethel, Maine, from June 21 through July 11, 1953. Approximately 110 applicants will be accepted. Persons involved in problems of working with groups in a training, consultant, or leadership capacity in any field are invited to apply.

The purpose of the training program is to sensitize leaders in all fields to the existence and nature of the dynamic forces operating in the small group and to help them gain skill in operating more effectively in such a group. The training program is organized so that each trainee group of fifteen to twenty persons is enabled to use its own experience as a laboratory example of group development. Group skills of analysis and leadership are practiced through the use of role-playing and observer techniques. Concentrated clinics give training in the skills of the consultant and the trainer in human relations skills. There is also opportunity to explore the role of the group in the larger social environment in which it exists. Finally, a major portion of the last week of the laboratory is spent in specific planning, and in practicing application of laboratory learning to back-home jobs.

The National Training Laboratory in Group Development is sponsored by the

Division of Adult Education Service of the National Education Association and by the Research Center for Group Dynamics of the University of Michigan, with the co-operation of faculty members from the following universities and colleges: Chicago, Illinois, California, Ohio State, Antioch, and Teachers College of Columbia University. Its research and consultation program is supported by a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. For further information, write to the NTLGD, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS

Carnegie Corporation of New York. The Carnegie Corporation has released the first issue in a new series of quarterly reports.

Sociologists will be interested in a \$200,000 grant to the University of Hawaii, the Bernice P. Bishop Museum in Honolulu, and Yale University, to investigate cultural change in the "island laboratories" of the Pacific.

Social Science Research Council. A new program of stipends and fellowships designed to identify and assist able students at an early stage of their education has been inaugurated. A grant from the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Ford Foundation has enabled the council to offer, during a period of three or four years beginning in 1953, Undergraduate Research Stipends which may be followed by First-Year Graduate Study Fellowships. It is hoped that a period of first-hand research, at a time when career choices are often made, will afford qualified students an opportunity to consider the scientific study of human behavior as a career, and will also be in itself a valuable educational experience not usually available in college curricula.

Undergraduate Research Stipends will be awarded to college juniors, who will devote eight weeks or more during the summer between their junior and senior years to research under the intimate guidance of designated faculty supervisors. It is expected that the research begun in the summer will be brought to completion as a part of the student's academic work for the senior year. Awards of First-Year Graduate Study Fellowships will be made in the latter part of the senior year to about half of the undergraduate stipend holders who have shown superior promise of making successful careers in the scientific study of human behavior.

The research stipend for an undergraduate will be \$600, which should cover the

student's living expenses for the summer and leave a balance applicable to the expenses of his senior year in college. The normal honorarium for a faculty supervisor will be \$600, on the assumption that he will forego some other activity in order to spend a part of his time during the summer in guiding a student's research. The honorarium may be somewhat less if the instructor's expenditure of time is small, or it may be greater than the figure mentioned if he is devoting a larger share of his time to the supervision of several students. The stipend for First-Year Graduate Study Fellowships has been set tentatively at \$1500.

Fields in which research may be supported are not bounded by departmental lines. An acceptable project must consist of scientific research on some problem of human behavior, at a level at which the student will be able, with guidance, to participate actively in all phases of the research, rather than merely to perform routine tasks set for him by another. Experimental projects and field work are appropriate, but scientific research using documentary data can also be considered, provided it involves analysis and interpretation.

Student candidates for Undergraduate Research Stipends should be nominated on the basis of their demonstrated ability and promise rather than the amount of previous training they may have had in research methods. They need not already be committed to graduate study in a particular field, since an important aim is to afford able students an experience which may give them a basis for a more informed choice of careers.

Ideally, a student would plan and carry out a project of his own, working closely with his faculty supervisor at all stages of the process, and thus learning something about research methods as the need arises. Alternatively, a student might be attached to an ongoing research project conducted by the supervisor, though in such a case it would be important to assure that the student would not be cast in the role of a mere computer or bibliographic assistant but would be enabled to gain some understanding of the research as a whole. Instead of a teacher-student pair, two or a few students might work on separate or joint projects under the guidance of one or more faculty members. The latter arrangement might indeed be positively advantageous, given qualified individuals with compatible interests.

Funds at hand will permit some forty appointments a year, but the actual number

of awards to be made in 1953 will depend on the response to this announcement. Those who may be interested in participating but find it impractical to do so on short notice are reminded that the program is expected to be continued for at least two more years, and are urged to anticipate submitting applications earlier in the academic year 1953-54, for awards for the succeeding summer.

Faculty members contemplating the proposal of projects and nomination of students for stipends are asked to notify the council by letter as soon as possible. Preliminary letters should give very briefly the essential facts about the project and proposed participants, indicating at least tentatively what provision would be made for supervision of the student's work, both during the summer and during the ensuing academic year. It is to be understood that the purpose of a preliminary letter is to enable the council to make preparations for subsequent action upon final applications, and that applicants will not be bound by their preliminary statements of plans.

Applications and preliminary correspondence should be directed to the Social Science Research Council, 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

NEW SOCIOLOGICAL JOURNAL

Sociological Abstracts. A new cooperative, nonprofit quarterly specializing in abstract-

ing sociological and sociologically oriented periodicals has been launched. Volume 1, No. 1 (November, 1952) contains 52 abstracts from five fully and two partially covered periodicals. New periodicals of domestic and foreign origin will be added to issue No. 2, available in February, 1953.

For copies, please write to: The Editor, *Sociological Abstracts*, 218 East 12th Street, New York 3, New York, and enclose 50 cents in coins or stamps for each issue.

RURAL SOCIOLOGICAL SOCIETY

Round Table on Rural Sociologists and Foreign Assignments. A transcribed record of this program at the 1952 annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society has been prepared. Typed copies are available on a loan basis from the secretary of the society, Samuel W. Blizzard, Pennsylvania State College, State College, Pennsylvania, or from the round-table chairman, Olaf F. Larson, Department of Rural Sociology, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York.

Committee on Amendments and Bylaws. The committee for this year, appointed by O. D. Duncan, president, would appreciate receiving immediately from society members any suggestions on constitutional revision. Committee members are Samuel W. Blizzard, A. Lee Coleman, T. Wilson Longmore, A. F. Wileden, and Olaf F. Larson (chairman).

NEWS NOTES AND ANNOUNCEMENTS

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FINANCIAL STATEMENT OF THE RURAL SOCIOLOGY JOURNAL
1952

RECEIPTS

Cash on hand, January 1, 1952.....	None
From Rural Sociological Society on 1952 business	\$1,711.75
Current subscriptions and sales (1952 business—includes \$1,235.53 transferred by North Carolina State College)	2,373.38
Advance subscriptions and sales (1953 and beyond—includes \$78.00 transferred by North Carolina State College)	1,612.69
Sales of back issues for Society (from July 12 to end of year).....	127.70
Reprint sales (through September issue only)	245.97
Advertising (through September issue only).....	273.52
Miscellaneous (includes \$106.88 advanced to Society to pay costs of shipping back issues).....	114.93
Annual payment from Rural Sociological Society	200.00
Total.....	\$6,659.94

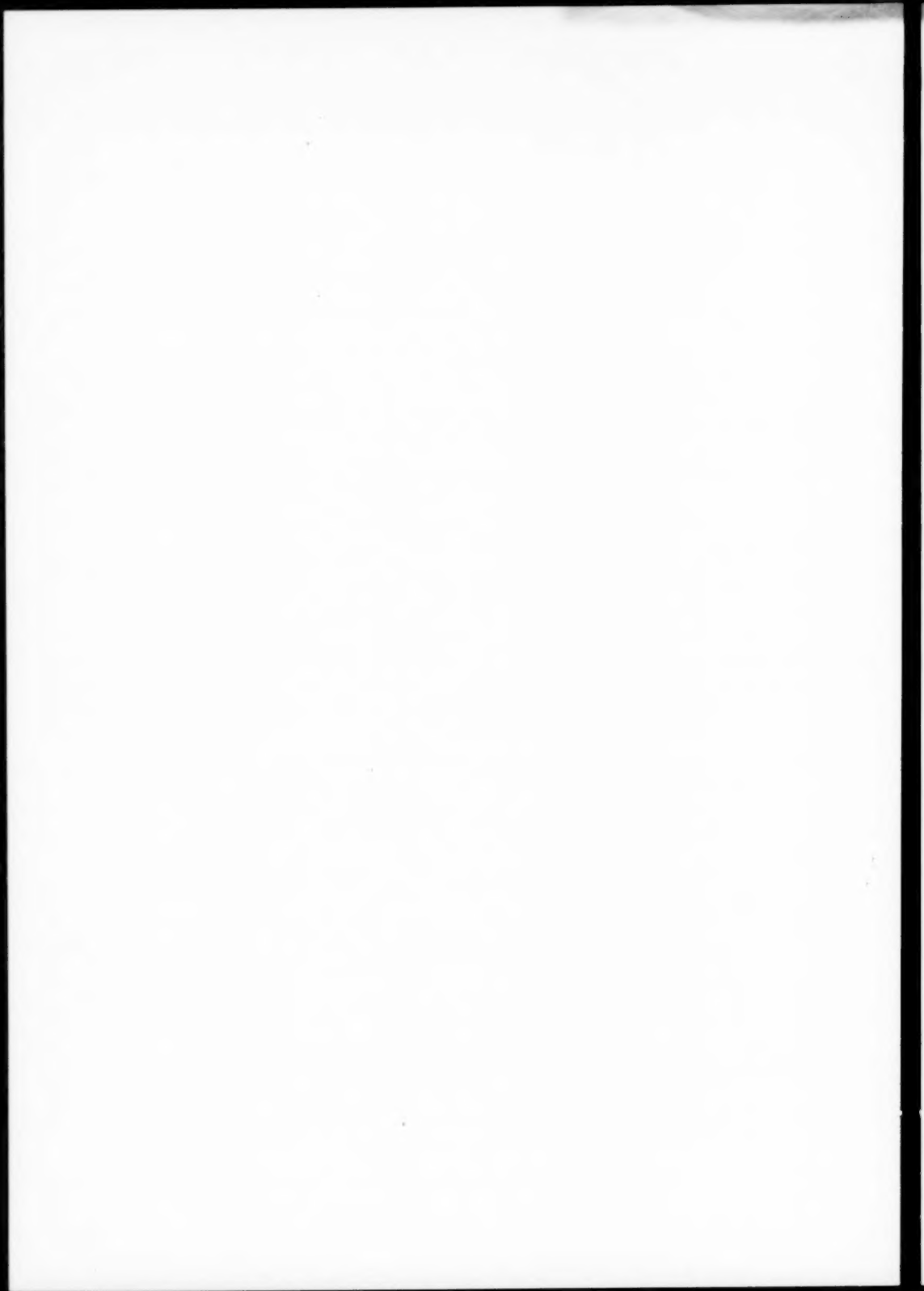
EXPENDITURES

Printing Journal	\$2,933.59
Engraving and cuts for Journal.....	53.84
Mailing costs—Journal (postage, postage fees, mailing envelopes).....	234.41
Printing of reprints (through September issue only)	209.48
Supplies and equipment (letterheads, envelopes, forms, books, etc.)...	257.11
Postage, managing editor's office.....	110.00
Postage and expense money to other editors.....	114.00
Managing editor's expenses to annual meeting	101.04
Other travel and communication (trips and phone calls to printer)....	62.31
Purchase of back issues for the Society.....	11.68
To Rural Sociological Society for back-issue sales (net sales less 10% for postage and handling, less cost of back issues purchased).....	105.05
Copyright	16.00
Binding (two complete sets of back issues, for editor and managing editor)	87.76
Educational Press Association membership.....	10.00
Refunds	11.38
Miscellaneous (includes \$106.88 reimbursement from Society for ship- ping costs of back issues).....	124.88
Total.....	\$4,442.53

Cash on hand, December 31, 1952.....	2,217.41
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Respectfully submitted,

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VOLUME XXXV

FEBRUARY, 1953

NUMBER 1

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- TEMPERATURE INSURANCE—AN ALTERNATIVE TO FROST INSURANCE IN CITRUS.....Ivan M. Lee
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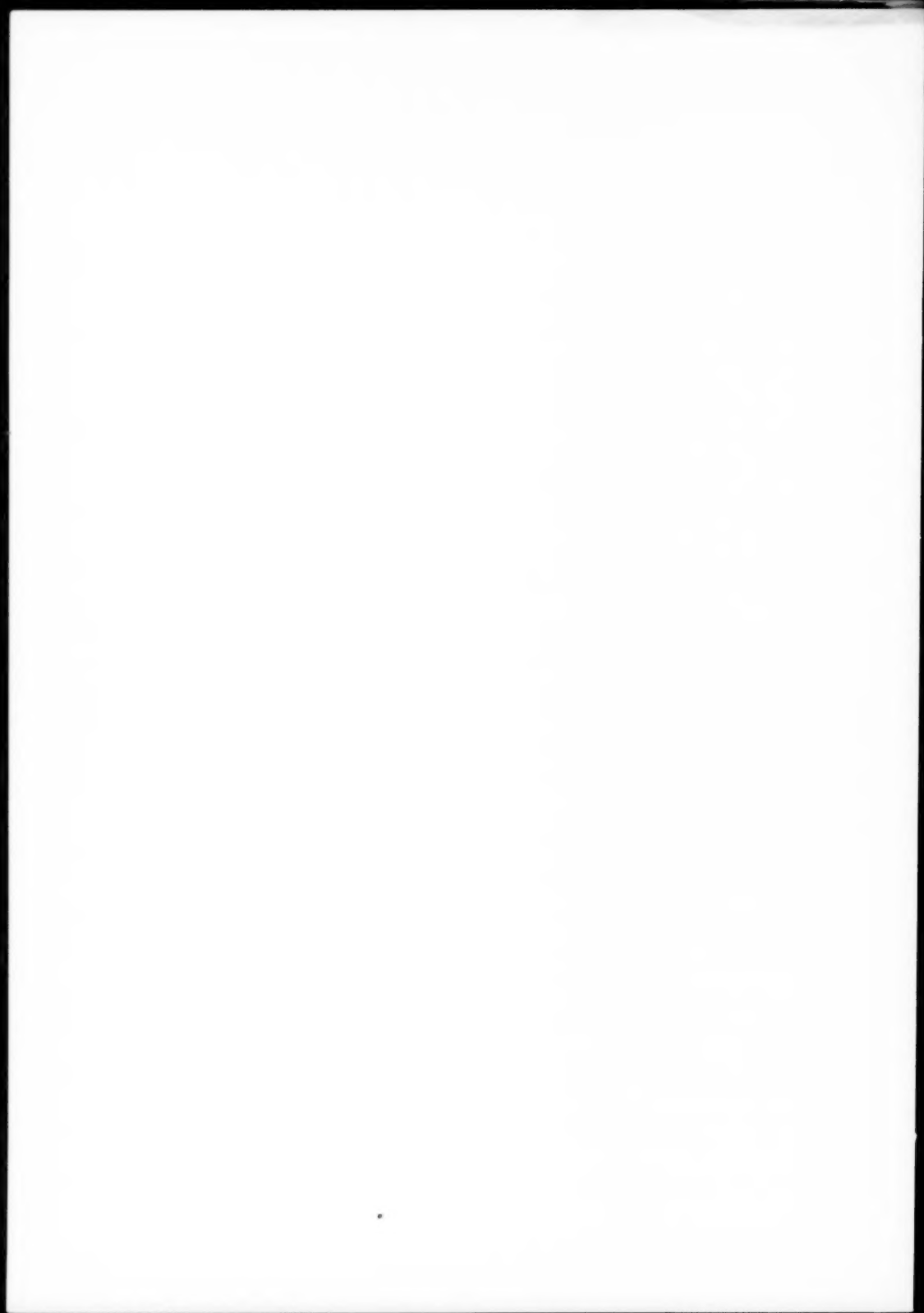
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